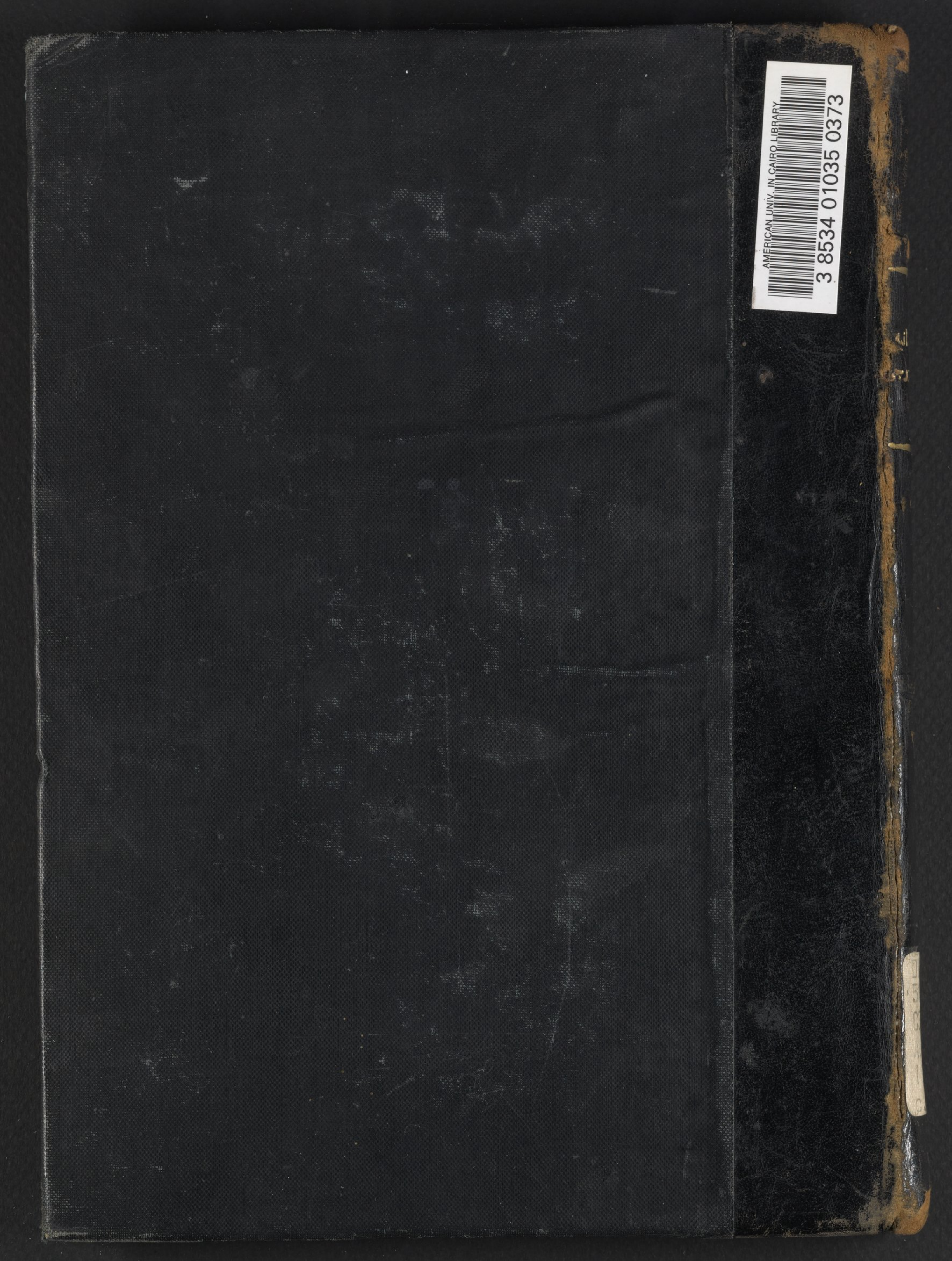
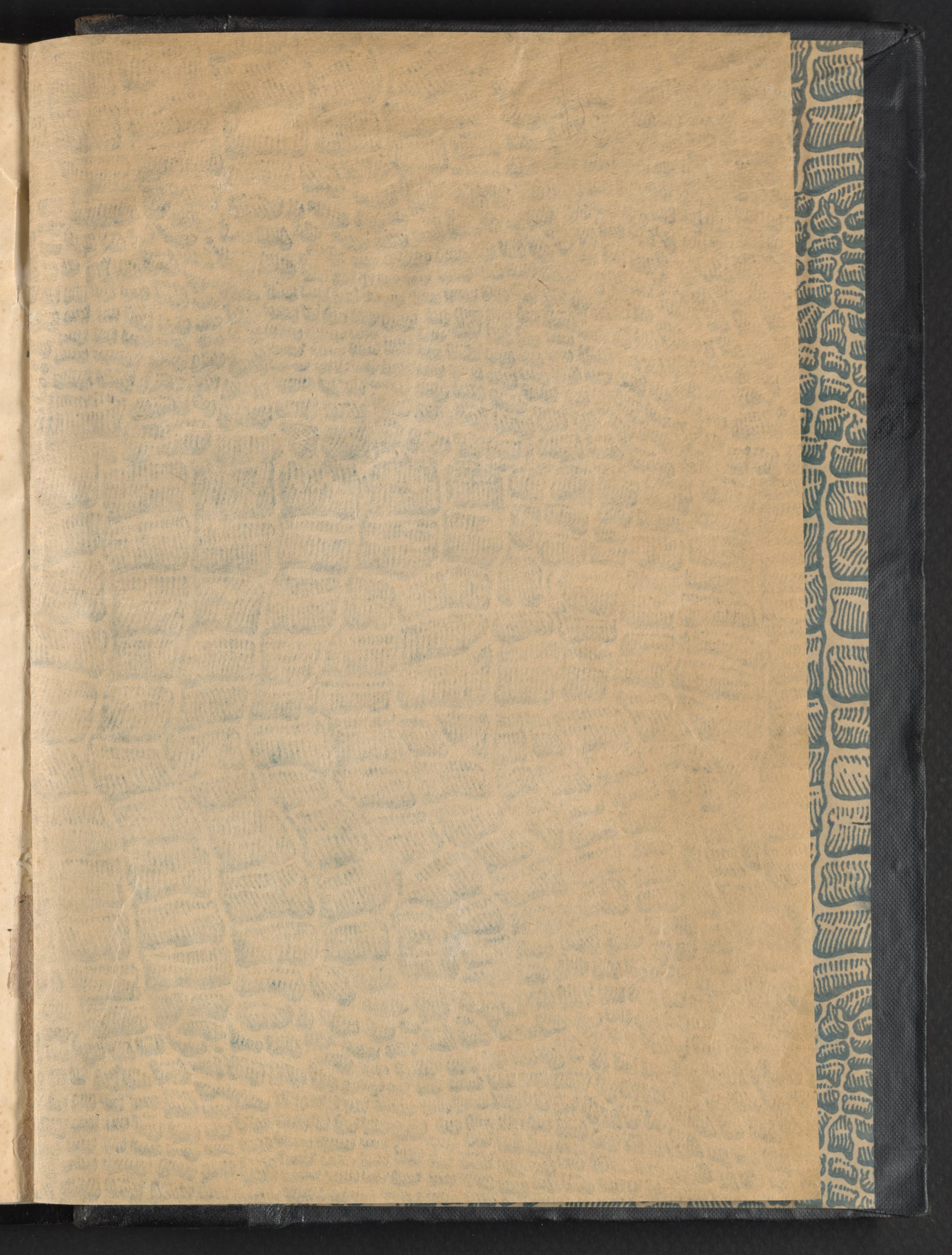








وزارة التربيـة والتعليم
إدارة الثقافة

# الرّسالة الثّانية

## لأبى دُلف مسعر بن المهلهل الخزْرجي

اعتنى بنشرها
و . مينورسكى
الأستاذ بكلية لندن

مطبعة جامعة القاهرة
١٩٥٥

# الرسالة الأخرى

## التى أنفذها إلينا بعد التى كتبناها (f. 182 b)

١ — أمّا بعد حمد الله والثناء على أولى مقاماته ، فى أرضه وسمائه ، ومسئلته العون على الخير كلّه ، فإنى حرّرت لكما ، يا من أنا عبدكما ، أدام الله لكما العز والتأييد والقدرة والتمكين ، جملة من سفرى كان من بخارى إلى الصين على خط الوَتَر ، ورجوعى منها على الهند وهو سمت قوسه (١) وذكرت بعض أعاجيب ما دخلته من بلدانها ، وسلكته من قبائلها . ولم أستقص (٢) المقالة حذراً من الإطالة ، ورأيت الآن تجريد رسالة شافية تجمع (٣) عامّة ما شاهدته ، وتحيط بأكثر ما عاينته ، لينتفع به المعتبرون ، ويتدرّب (٤) به أولو (٥) العزة والطمأنينة ، ويُثقف به رأى من عجز عن مساحة الأرض .

٢ — فأبدأ بذكر المعادن الطبعية (٦) والعجائب (٧) المعدنية إذ هى أعمّ نفعاً ، وأتحرّى فى ذلك الإيجاز (٨) . والله ولى التوفيق وهو حسبى ونعم المعين .

٣ — ولما شارفت الصنعة الشريفة والتجارة المربحة من التصعيدات والتقطيرات والحلول والتكليسات خامر (٩) قلبى شك فى الحجارة واشتبهت (١٠) علىّ العقاقير فأوجب الرأى اتباع (١١) الركازات والمنابع فوصلت بالخبر والصفة ( f. 183 a ) إلى الشيز .

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الرموز : ا — فى الأصل ، ق — آثار البلاد لزكرياء القزوينى طبع ليبزيج ، ى — معجم البلدان لياقوت الرومى طبع ليبزيج ، * — كلمة مصحّحة ، {} — ملاحظات لمن أرسل إليهما أبو دلف رسالته .

(١) ولعله سية قوسه .
(٢) ا — لم أستقصى .
(٣) ا — يجمع .
(٤) ا — يندرب .
(٥) ا — أولى .
(٦) ا — الطبيعية .
(٧) ا — عجايب .
(٨) ا — الانجاز .
(٩) ا — وخامر .
(١٠) ا — اشتهيت .
(١١) ا — ابتاع .

٤ — وهى مدينة بين المراغة وزنجان وسُهرورْد والدينَوَر ، بين جبال تجمع معادن الذهب ومعادن الزئبق[(١)] ومعادن الأسرب ومعادن الفضة ومعادن الزرنيخ الأصفر ومعادن الحجارة المعروفة بالجمست[(٢)] فأما ذهبها فهو ثلاثة[(٣)] أنواع : نوع يعرف بالقومسى وهو[(٤)] تراب يصب عليه المآء[(٥)] فيغسل ويبقى تبراً كالذرّ يجمع بالزئبق وهو أحمر خلوقى* ثقيل نقى صِبغْ ممتنع على النار[(٦)] لين يمتد[(٧)] ، ونوع آخر يقال له الشهربى[(٨)] يوجد قطعاً من حبة إلى عشرة مثاقيل صبغ صلب رزين إلا أن فيه يبساً قليلا ، ونوع آخر يقال له السجابدى[(٩)] أبيض رخو رزين أحمر المحك ينصبغ[(١٠)] بالزاج وزرنيخه[(١١)] مصفح قليل الغبار يدخل فى التزاين والتزاويق ، ومنه خاصة يعمل أهل أصفهان فصوصاً ولا أحمر[(١٢)] فيها . وزئبقها أجل من الخراسانى وأثقل وأنقى ، وقد اختبرناه فتقرر من الثلاثين[(١٣)] واحد فى كيان الفضة المعدنية ولم نجد من ذلك فى المشرق وأما فضتها فإنها تعزُّ لعزّ الفحم عندهم .

٥ — وهذه المدينة يحيط[(١٤)] بها سورها بحير[(١٥)] فى وسطها لا يدرك له[(١٦)] ( غور ) ، وإنى أرسيت فيه أربعة عشر ألف ذراع وكسور ألف فلم تستقر المثقلة ولا اطمأنت واستدارته نحو جريب بالهاشمى ومتى بُلّ بمائه ترابٌ[(١٧)] صار لوقته حجراً صلداً وتخرج منه سبعة أنهار كل واحد منها ينزل على رحىً ، ثم يخرج تحت السور .

وبها بيت نار عظيم الشأن (عندهم) منه تذكى نيران المجوس إلى المشرق والمغرب ، وعلى رأس قبته هلال فضة هو طِلَّسمه قد حاول قلعه خلق من الأمراء والمتغلبين فلم يقدروا على ذلك . { وهذا القول أيضاً من زيادات أبى دلف { .

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(١) ا ـ الزيبق .
(٢) ى ـ الجست .
(٣) ا ـ ثلثة .
(٤) ا ـ وهى .
(٥) المآ .
(٦) ا ـ يقبل بق .
(٧) ا ـ على نازلين عنده — وصححناه كما ورد فى ى .
(٨) ى ـ السهرق .
(٩) ى ـ السحاندى .
(١٠) ى ـ يصبغ .
(١١) ا ـ زرنيخها .
(١٢) ى ـ حمرة .
(١٣) ا ـ الثلثين .
(١٤) ا ـ تحيط .
(١٥) ويجب أن يكون * بحيرة .
(١٦) ى ـ وبها بحيرفى وسطها لايدرك قراره .
(١٧) ا ـ بتراب ، والتصويب من ى .

ومن أعاجيب هذا البيت أيضاً أن كانونه يوقد منه سبعمائة[١] سنة فلا يوجد رماد فيه ( البته[٢] ) ولا ينقطع الوقود عنه ساعة من الزمان .

٦ — وهذه المدينة بناها هرمز بن خسرو شير بن بهرام بحجر وكلس ، وعند هذا البيت إيوانات (f. 183 b) شاهقة وأبنية عظيمة هائلة ومتى قصد هذه المدينة عدو ونصب منجنيقه ( على سورها فإن حجره يقع[٣] فى البحيرة ( كذا ) التى ذكرناها قبلاً[٤] ) ( وإن أُخّر منجنيقه[٢] ) ولو ذراعاً بالمثـــل سقط الحجر خارج السور .

٧ — والخبر فى بناء هذه المدينة أن هرمز ملك الفرس بلغه أنّ مولوداً ولداً مباركا يولد فى بيت المقدس فى قرية يقال لها بيت لحم[٥] وأنّ قربانه يكون دهناً وزيتاً ولباناً ، فأنفذ بعض ثقاته بمال عظيم وأمره أن يشترى من بيت المقدس ألف قنطار زيتاً ويحمل[٦] معه لباناً كثيراً وأمره أن يمضى إلى بيت المقدس ويسأل[٧] عن أمر هذا المولود فإذا وقف عليه دفع الهدية إلى أمه وبشرها بما يكون لولدها من الشرف والذكر وفعل الخير ويسألها أن تدعو له[٨] ولأهل مملكته ، ففعل الرجل ما أمر وصار إلى مريم فدفع إليها ما وجّه به معه وعرّفها بركة ولدها ، فلما أراد الانصراف عنها دفعت إليه جراب تراب وقالت له[٩] : عرّف صاحبك أن سيكون لهذا التراب نبأ ، فأخذه وانصرف ، فلما صار إلى موضع الشيز وهو إذ ذاك صحراء[١٠] مات ، وقد كان قبل موته حين أحس بذلك دفن الجراب هناك ، واتصل الخبر بالملك ، فتزعم الفرس أنه وجّه رجلا ثقة[١١] وقال له : « امض إلى المكان الذى مات فيه صاحبنا فابن على الجراب بيت نار » قال : « ومن أين أعرف مكانه » قال : « امض فلن يخفى عليك » فلما وصل إلى الموضع تحير وبق لا يدرى أى شئ يصنع

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(١) ا ـ ماية . وفى ى : أن كانوا يوقدون فيه .
(٢) ( ) كما ورد فى ى .
(٣) ا ـ تقع .
(٤) ( ) فى هامش النسخة .
(٥) ا ـ الحم .
(٦) ا ـ وحمل .
(٧) ا ـ ويسئل .
(٨) ا ـ تدعوا له .
(٩) ا ـ وقال .
(١٠) ا ـ صحرآ .
(١١) ا ـ معه : والتصويب عن ى .

فلما أمسى وأجنّه الليل ، نظر إلى نور عظيم يرتفع من مكان بالقرب منه ، فعلم أنه الموضع الذى يريده ، فصار إليه وخط حول النور خطاً وبات ، فلما أصبح أمر بالبناء[١] على ذلك الخط فهو بيت النار الذى بالشيز .

٨ — وخرجت من هذه المدينة إلى مدينة أخرى على أربعة[٢] فراسخ تعرف بالران ( * بألران ) فيها معدن الذهب ثقيل أبيض فضى أحمر المحك إذا حمل على عشرته واحد من الفضة احمرّ . ووجدت معدن الأسرب واستعملت منه مرداسنجا نخلَص لى من كل منًا دانقٌ ونصف فضة ، ولم أجد فيما سواه من معادن الرصاص ووجدت بها البيروخ ( f. 148 a ) كثيراً عظيم الخلقة يكون الواحد منه عشر أذرع وأكثر من ذلك . وفى هذه المدينة نهر من شرب منه أمن من الحصاة ، وبها حشيشة يضحك من تكون معه حتى يخرج به الضحك إلى الرعونة وإن سقطت منه أو شئ منها اعتراه حزن لذلك فبكى[٣] . وبها حجارة بيض غير شفافة تقيم الرصاص ، ويقع بها من السحاب دويبة تنفع من داء الثعلب باللطوخ ، وثعالبها قرع الرءوس بلا شعر البتة .

٩ — وسرت منها إلى وادى اسفندويه فوجدت عليه حمات كثيرة بورقية تنفع من الرياح فى العصب فقط وبه حمة تصلح للخفاء .

١٠ — ووصلت منها إلى معدن زاج أحمر سورى ينبت فيه الذهب الأبيض فى الصيف فيحمرّ من داخل خفه[٤] .

١١ — وخرجت من هناك إلى الطرم فوجدت بها وبزنجان[٥] معادن الزاج الشريفة[٦] تفوق المصرى والقبرسى والكرمانى ووجدت بها معادن بوارق وشبوب ( فيها ) البياض والحمرة ووجدت بها حمة تصلح للجراحة العتيقة فأمّا الطرية فلا . ووجدت

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(١) ا — بالبنآ .
(٢) ا — آربع .
(٣) ا — فبكا . ى — حزن لذلك وبكاء .
(٤) ا — حفه .
(٥) مع الزاء الفارسية .
(٦) ا — معادن للزاج الشريفة .

بها عينا تنبع ماء[1] يستحجر إذا ضربه الهواء[2] ينفع من دماء(؟)[3] الأرحام سيالا ومن دبر الحمير جامداً[4]، ووجدت بها حجارة بيضاء تقوم مقام الباذزهر.

١٢ — ووصلت إلى قلعة ملك الديلم المعروفة[5] بسميران فرأيت فى أبنيتها وعمارتها ما لم أشاهده فى غيرها من مواطن الملوك وذلك أنّ فيها ألفين[6] وثمانمائة ونيفاً وخمسين داراً كباراً وصغاراً، وكان محمد بن مسافر صاحبها إذا نظر إلى سلعة حسناء[7]، أو عمل محكم؛ سأل عن صانعه، فإذا أخبر بمكانه وموضعه أنفذ اليه من المال ما يُرَغِّب مثله فيه، وضمن له أضعاف ذلك إذا صار اليه، فإذا حصل عنده منع أن يخرج من القلعة بقية عمره. وكان يأخذ أولاد رعيته ويُسلِّمهم[8] فى الصناعات. وكان كثير الدخل، قليل الخرج، واسع المال ذا كنوز عظيمة فما زال على ذلك إلى أن أضمر أولاده مخالفته رحمة منهم لمن (f. 184 b) عنده[9] من الناس الذين هم فى زى الأسارى، فخرج يوماً لبعض متصيداته فلما عاد أغلقوا باب القلعة دونه، وامتنعوا عليه، فاعتصم منهم بقلعة أخرى فى بعض أعماله وأطلقوا من كان عنده من الصناع، وكانوا خمسة آلاف[10] إنسان، فكثر الدعاء لهم بذلك، وأدركت ابنه الأوسط الحمية والأنفة أن ينسبه أبوه إلى العقوق، وأنه إنما رغب فى الأموال والذخائر والكنوز فجمع جمعاً عظيماً من الديلم وخرج إلى أذربيجان وكان من أمره ما لا يخفى على القاصى والدانى.

١٣ — ثم إنى رجعت إلى أذربيجان فى الجيل إلى موقان فكان مسيرى ثمانين[11] فرسخا تحت الشجر على ساحل بحر[12] طبرستان العظيم حتى أتيت موضعاً

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(١) ا ـ ما.
(٢) ا ـ الهوآ.
(٣) ا ـ ديام (؟).
(٤) ا ـ جامد.
(٥) ا ـ المعروف.
(٦) ا ـ الفى.
(٧) حسنا.
(٨) ا ـ يسالمهم من.
(٩) ا ـ عندم.
(١٠) ا ـ ألف.
(١١) ا ـ ثمانون.
(١٢) ا ـ البحر.

يقال له باكويه من أعمال شروان ، فألفيت[(١)] به عيناً للنفط تبلغ قَبالتها كل يوم ألف درهم ، و إلى جانبها عيناً أخرى تسيل نفطاً أبيض كدهن الزئبق ، لا ينقطع ليلا ولا نهاراً يبلغ ضمانه مثل ذلك .

١٤ — وسرت من هناك فى بلد الأرمن حتى انتهيت إلى تفليس ، وهى مدينة لا إسلام وراءها[(٢)] ، يجرى فيها نهر يقال له الكر يصب إلى البحر وفيه ، عروب ( ؟ ) تطحن ، وعليها سور عظيم ، وبها حمامات شديدة الحرارة لا توقد ولا يستقى لها ماء ، وعلتها عند أولى الفهم تغنى عن تكلف الإبانة عنها . وأردت أن أمضى إلى مغار الطيس ( الطيش ؟ ) لأنظر إليه فلم يمكن ذلك لسبب قطع ( * الطريق ) عنه وانكفيت إلى الفرض .

١٥ — ومنها ( إلى ) أردبيل فركبت جبال الويزور وقبان وخاجين والربع (؟) وحنذان ( ؟ ) والبذّ وبها معدن الشب المنسوب إليها وهو شب الحمرة المعروفة باليمانى ومنها يحمل[(٣)] إلى اليمن وواسط ولا ينصبغ الصوف بواسط إلا به ، وهو أقوى من المصرى ، وبها وبأردبيل[(٤)] وبهذه الجبال التى تقدم ذكرها[(٥)] حمات تصلح للجرب فقط . وبالبَذّ موضع يكون تكسيره ثلاثة[(٦)] أجربة يقال إن فيه موقف رجل لا يقوم فيه أحد يدعو الله إلا (f. 185 a) استجيب له ، وفيه تعقد أعلام المحمِّرة المعروفين بالخُرَّمية ومنه خرج بابك ، وفيه يتوقعون[(٧)] المهدى وتحته نهر عظيم إن اغتسل فيه صاحب الحميات العتيقة قلعها[(٨)] عنه .

١٦ — وإلى جانبه نهر الرس وعليه رمّان عجيب لم أر فى بلد من البلدان مثله . وبها تين عجيب ، وزبيبها يجفف[(٩)] فى التنانير لأنه لا شمس عندهم لكثرة الضباب

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(١) ا ـ آلقيت .

(٢) ا ـ الاسلام وراها .

(٣) ا ـ تحمل .

(٤) يعنى هذا الشب يوجد بالبذين وبأردبيل ؟ .

(٥) ذكره .

(٦) ا ـ ثلثة .

(٧) ا ـ بنو بعون .

(٨) ولعله قمعها .

(٩) ا ـ ويجفف .

ولم تصحُ السماء عندهم قط ، وعندهم كبريت قليل يجدونه قطعاً على المياه ويسمِّن النساء إذا شربنه مع الفتيت . ونهر الرس يخرج[١] إلى صحراء البلاسجان ؛ وهى إلى شاطئ البحر وفى الطول من برزند إلى بذعة ومنها ورثان والبيلقان ( و ) فى هذه الصحراء خمسة آلاف[٢] قرية أو أكثر خراب إلا أن حيطانها وأبنيتها قائمة لم تتغير لجودة التربة وصحتها . ويقال إن تلك القرى كانت لأصحاب الرس الذين ذكرهم الله تعالى فى القرآن ، ويقال إنهم رهط جالوت قتلهم داود وسليمان[٣] عليهما السلام لما منعوا الخراج ، وقتل جالوت بأرمية وبها قبره وكنيسة الفتح وكنيسة العز بأرمية أيضا .

١٧ — وبأرمية أيضا البحيرة المرة لا نبات عليها ولا حيوان بقربها ، وفى وسطها جبال يقال لها كبوذان[٤] ، وفيها قرى يسكنها ملاحو[٥] سفن ذلك البحر . واستدارتها خمسون فرسخاً ، ويقطع عرضها فى ليلة وتُخرج ملحاً مجلوّاً يشبه بالتوتيا وعلى ساحلها مما يلى الشرق عيون تنبع ويستحجر ماؤها إذا أصابه الهواء ، وعيون تصب إلى البحر ماءاً مراً وحامضاً وملحاً ، إذا صب على الزئبق فتته لوقته وأقامه حجراً يابساً ، وهناك حجارة بيض رخوة تبيّض الأسرب فى الذوب حتى تلحقه ببياض القلعى وقريب من الفضة ، وعليها قلاع حصينة .

١٨ — وجانب من هذه البحيرة يأخذ إلى موضع يقال له وادى الكرد ، فيه طرائف من الأحجار ، وعليه مما يلى سلماس حمة شريفة جليلة قليلة (f. 185 b) الخطر ، كثيرة المنفعة ، وهى بالإجماع والموافقة خير ما يخرج من كل معدن فى الأرض يقال لها زراوند ، وإليها ينسب البورق الزراوندى ، وذلك أن الإنسان أو البهيمة يلقى فيها وبه كلوم قد اندملت ، وقروح قد التحمت ، ودونها عظام موهنة وأزجة كامنة وشظايا غائضة ، فتنفجر أفواهها ، ويخرج ما فيها من قيح وغيره ، وتجتمع على النظافة ، ويأمن الإنسان غائلتها .

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(١) ا — لخرج .
(٢) ا — الف .
(٣) ا — سليمن .
(٤) ا — كبوداں .
(٥) ا — ملاحوا .

وعهدى بمن توليت حمله إليها و به علل من جرب وصلع[1] وقولنج وحزاز[2] وضربان فى الساقين ، واسترخاء فى العصب ، وهم لازم ، وحم دائم ، و به سهم قد نبت اللحم على نصله ، وغار فى بدنه ، وكنّا نتوقعه يصدع كبده صباح مساء فأقام ثلاثة أيام وخرج السهم من خاصرته ، لأنها أرق موضع وجد فيها منفذا .

ولم أر مثل هذا الماء إلا فى بلد التيز والمكران فإنى أذكر علته إذا بلغت إلى سلوكى موضعه إن شاء الله وحده .

ومن شرف هذه الحمة أن مع مجراها مجرى ماء عذب زلال بارد ، فإذا شرب منه إنسان فقد أمن الخوانيق ، ووسع عروق الطحال الرقاق ، وأسهل السوداء من غير مشقة ، و إذا اكتحل صاحب العَشَا من مائها بارداً أبصر ، ومن اشتم من طينها لم تَقْمَر عينه من الثلج ، والبهيمة التى تدخلها لا تجرب ولا يجرب لها ولد أبداً ، و يصب إلى هذه البحيرة أنهار كثيرة .

١٩ — ولأرمينية بورق هذه الحمة ، و بورق البحيرة التى يستخرج منها الطرّيخ ، و بورق يكون فى باجنيس[3] وهو بلد بنى سُليم ، وفى هذا البلد ملّاحة جيدة الملح ، وبها أيضاً معدن للملح الاندرانى[4] و بها أيضاً معدن مغنيسيا ومعدن نحاس ، وهو الذى بحيزان ومنه تكون التوتيا المحمود والضفادعى ، وفيه شئ من الزاج الأسود لا خير فيه وملحها دون ملح حيزان ، وبها نبات الخزامى والشيح الذى[5] يخرج الحيات من الجوف إلا أن التركى خير منه وأقوى . وبها * افسنتين[6] جيد (f. 186 a) و* افتيمون صالح . وبها أسطوخوذوس ، وحشائش كثيرة نافعة وبها السنبل الرومى .

٢٠ — و بينها و بين أفلوغونيا بلد كبير ، لا يخرج منه عالم ولا خرج فيما سلف ، وذلك بالطبع . وفى هذا البلد قلاع حصينة منها قلعة يقال ( لها ) وريمان وهى وسط البحر

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(١) ا ـ سلع

(٢) ا ـ جزاز

(٣) ا ـ باحنس

(٤) ا ـ ولعله الاندرابى

(٥) ا ـ التى

(٦) ا ـ احستين

على سنّ[١] جبل لا ترام وهناك نهر يغور فى الأرض يقال إنه نهر * نصيبين[٢] والجذام يسرع إلى أهلها لكثرة أكلهم الكرنب والغدر فيهم طباع وقد احتجّ لهم فى ذلك وأقام عذرهم بعض إخوانى وزعم أنه لاغدر فيهم وقال إن الرجل منهم إذا كان فقيراً لم يحب أن يراه أهل بلده وهذه الخلة من كرم الطبيعة وصفاء الطينة وفى أهل هذه البلد خدمة الضيف وقرًى واسع وحسن طاعة لرهبانهم حتى إن الواحد[٣] منهم إذا حضرته الوفاة أحضر القس ودفع إليه مالا واعترف له بذنب مما عمله والقس يستغفر له وقد تضمن له الصفح والعفو عن سائر ذنوبه ويقال إن القس بسط كساءه فكلما ذكر ذنباً بسط القس يده ثم قبضها وقال قد أخذته ثم يطرحه فى كسائه فإذا لم يبق له ذنب جمع القس كساءه وحمله وخرج وقال : "قد حملت ذنوبك وأنا ألقيتها فى الصحراء" ويقرّر فى نفسه الغفران والتجاوز وليست[٤] هذه السنة فى شئ من الأديان كلها إلا فى هؤلاء وهم ضرب من الأرمن فقط .

وأصواتهم فى درس إنجيلهم وإيقاع نغمهم أطيب وأشجى من أصوات غيرهم من فرق النصارى وترنمهم أبكى لقلب المحزون المائل طبعه إلى المراثى والنوح من رثاة العرب بالندب وألحانهم فى البِيَع أحل ( أحلى ؟ ) على سمع الطرِب الصابر لأن المرح والفرح من ترجيع الأغانى ويقال إن ترتيب غنائهم بالأوتار لطيب[٥] صحيح .

٢١ — وفيها جبل يقال له ماسيس يخرج من أصله عيون كثيرة غزيرة لاتنقص عن حالها ولاتزيد باردة فى الصيف مانعة حامية فى الشتاء ناعمة لايفارق ( f. 189 b. ) الثلج رأسه شتاء ولا صيفاً ويتولد فى ثلجه دول عظام جداً يكون الدودة نحو العشرين ذراعاً وأكثر فى استدارته عشرة أذرع وبأرمينية عيون يخرج منها ماء حامض مفتح وأكثرها حول هذا الجبل وبها زرنيخ أصفر كثير فى معدن واحد مما يلى المشرق وبها زاجات وكباريت قليلة ولا معدن فضة ولا ذهب بها وأرمينية رخيصة الأسعار

(١) ا ـ من ، ى — سن ولعله قن .
(٢) ا ـ نصيبن .
(٣) ا ـ حتى از الواحد .
(٤) ا ـ ليس .
(٥) ا ـ الطيب .

وربما كان القحط بها عظيما جداً . وهى كثيرة الآفاق وبها حجارة كثيرة ذوات خواص مذكورات وتقوم بها عدّة أسواق فى السنة تباع فيها أشياء كثيرة من الفرش والديباج والبغال والبزيون وغير ذلك . وأرمينية قليلة الآثار وبها معدن مرقشيتا صفراء والتى بأرض الشيز فى القرية المعروفة نمراور[١] خير منها[٢] ولا أظن أنى رأيت مثله .

٢٢ — ويتصل أرمينية بجبال الحور (*جبل جور) ثم بجبال داسن ثم بالحرانية (* الجرامقة ؟) ونريز .

٢٣ — ونِريز هذه كانت مملكة لحافرة ( ؟ ) طى وكانت[٣] طرفاً مقصوداً قد قصده أبو تمام والبحترى وغيرهما[٤] وكان على بن مُرّ الطائى صاحبها ممدحا يقصده الشعراء فينصرفون عنه باللهى حتى غلب على البلد صنف من الأكراد يعرفون ( بالهذبانية ) فملكوا المدينة وعطلوا رسمها وأخربوا رساتيقها وعفّوا آثارها وتمادت بهم هذه الحال زماناً فلما ضعف السلطان وأمنوا طلب الولاة وقصد الأمراء عمروا ما أخربوا واستعلوا فى تلك الناحية مثل من تقدّمهم ووصلوا قراها بالسلَق والدينْور وأعمال شَهرزور .

٢٤ — وشهرزور* مدينتان[٥] وقرى وفيها مدينة كبيرة وهى قصبتها فى وقتنا هذا يقال ( لها ) نيم ازراى وأهلها عصاة على السلطان قد استطعموا الخلاف واستعذبوا العصيان والمدينة فى صحراء ولأهلها بطش وشدّة يمنعون عن أنفسهم ويحمون حوزتهم وسمك سور المدينة ثمانية[٦] أذرع وأكثر أمرائهم منهم وبها عقارب قتالة أضر من عقارب نصيبين وهم موالى عمر بن عبد العزيز وجرأهم (f. 187 a) الأكراد بالغلبة على الأمراء ومخالفة الخلفاء وذلك أن بلدهم مشتى ستين ألف بيت من أصناف الأكراد الجلالية واليابسان[٧] والحكمية والسولية ولهم به مزارع كثيرة

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(١) ولعله بمراور ؟
(٢) ا ــ منه .
(٣) ا ــ كان .
(٤) ا ــ هم .
(٥) ا ــ مدينات ، ى ــ مدينتان .
(٦) ا ــ ثمان .
(٧) ى ــ باسيان .

ومن صحاريه يكون أكثر أقواتهم ويقرب من هذه المدينة جبل يعرف بشعران وآخر يعرف بزلم فيه حب *الزلم[1] يصلح لأدوية الجماع ولا أعرفه فى مكان غيره .

٢٥ — ومنها إلى دَيلم استان سبعة فراسخ وهذه قرية كان الديلم فى أيام الأكاسرة إذا خرجوا عن بلادهم للغارة عسكروا بها وخلفوا سوادهم لديها وانتشروا فى الأرض عاسّين[2] فإذا فرغوا من غارتهم عادوا إليها ورحلوا منها إلى مستقرهم فهى تعرف إلى اليوم بهم .

٢٦ — وبشهرزور مدينة أخرى دونها فى العصيان والنجدة تعرف ببير وأهلها شيعة صالحية زيدية أسلموا على يد زيد بن على وهذه المدينة مأوى كل ذاعر و*مثوى[3] كل صاحب غارة وقد كان أهل نيم ازراى أوقعوا بأهل هذه المدينة وقتلوهم وسلبوهم وأحرقوهم بالنار عصبية للدين ومظاهرة للشريعة وذلك فى سنة إحدى وأربعين وثلثمائة .

٢٧ — وبين المدينتين مدينة صغيرة يقال لها دزدان بناؤها على بناء الشيز وداخلها بحيرة تخرج إلى خارجها تركض الخيل على أعلى سورها لسعته وعرضه وهى ممتنعة على الأكراد والولاة والرعية وكنت كثيراً ما أنظر إلى رئيسها الذى يدعونه الأمير وهو يجلس على برج مبنى على بابها عالى البناء ينظر الجالس عليه إلى عدّة الفراسخ وبيده سيف مجرّد فمتى نظر إلى خيل من بعض الجهات لمع بسيفه فانجفلت مواشى أهلها وعواملهم إليها وفيها مسجد جامع وهى مدينة *منصورة[4] يقال إن داود وسليمان[5] عليهما السلام دعوا لها ولأهلها بالنصرة فهى ممتنعة أبداً (f. 187 b.) عمن يرومها ويقال إن طالوت كان منها[6] وبها استنصر بنو إسرائيل وذلك أن جالوت خرج من المشرق وداود من المغرب فأيده الله عليه .

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(١) ا ـ الريم .
(٢) ا ـ عاشين ، ى ـ غائبين .
(٣) ا ـ مأوى .
(٤) ا ـ منصوبة .
(٥) ا ـ سليمن ... السلم .
(٦) ا ـ منها كان .

وهذه المدينة بناها دارا بن دارا ولم يظفر الإسكندر بها ولا أقام أهلها له الدعوة ولا ملكها[١] المسلمون ولا فتحوها وإنما دخل أهلها الإسلام بعد اليأس من طاعتهم والمتغلبون عليها من أهلها إلى اليوم يقولون إنهم من ولد طالوت .

وأعمالها متصلة بخانقين وكرخ جدّان ، وكرخ جدّان مخصوصة بالعنب السونايا وقلة رمد العين والجذرى .

٢٨ — ومنها إلى خانقين يعترض نهر تامرّا وبخانقين عين للنفط عظيمة كثيرة الدخل وبها قنطرة على واديها عظيمة الشأن تكوّن[٢] أربعة وعشرين[٣] طاقاً كل طاق يكون عشرين ذراعا عليها جادّة خراسان إلى الكوفة ومكة وينتهى الطريق إلى قصر شيرين ( وبه ) أبنية شاهقة يكل الطرف عن تحديدها ويضيق الفكر عن الإحاطة بها وهى إيوانات كثيرة متصلة وخلوات وخزائن وقصور وعقود[٤] ومتنزهات ومستشرفات وأروقة وميادين ومصائد وحجرات ودساكر يطيل ذو اللب الوقوف عليها تنبئ[٥] عن طَول وقوة وأعمار طويلة يعتبرها ذو[٦] البصائر والملك الذى بناها أبرويز .

٢٩ — وبحلوان من الآثار قريب من قصر شيرين ومنها إلى طاق الجّام وهو عقد من الحجارة على قارعة الطريق فى مضيق بين جبلين عجيب[٧] البناء عالى السمك ومنه إلى ماذروستان وهو إيوان واحد عظيم وبين يديه دكة عظيمة وبستان خراب بناه بهرام جور يقع الثلج على نصفه مما يلى المشرق وخراسان ولا يقع على النصف الآخر الذى يلى العراق ومنه[٨] إلى مرج القلعة وهو مرج * أفيح وبه آثار قلعة عادية عجيبة البناء .

٣٠ — وماء حلوان وبىء ردئ كبريتى ينبت عليه الدفلى وبها رمان لم أر فى بلد من البلدان مثله وبها أيضاً تين عجيب الأمر يقال له الشاهنجير

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(١) يملكها .
(٢) ا ـ يكون .
(٣) ا ـ عشرون .
(٤) ا ـ عقور .
(٥) تبنى .
(٦) ا ـ ذوا .
(٧) ا ـ عجب .
(٨) ا ـ ومنه المرج .

(f. 188a) بتفسيره ملك التين وبالقرب منها جبل فيه عدّة عيون كبريت ينتفع بها من أدواء كثيرة.

وبقربها أيضاً جبل عليه صومعة تعرف بدير الغار وسميت بهذا الاسم لأن قوما يزعمون أن أبا نواس خرج من العراق قاصداً إلى خراسان فوصل إلى هذه (الصومعة) وكان فيها راهب شلف[١] حسن الوجه ظريف الهيئة فأضاف أبا نواس وقراه ولم يتوق[٢] أمره غاية فلما شربا دعاه أبو نواس إلى البدال فأجابه فلما قضى حاجته من أبي نواس غدر به وامتنع عليه فقتله أبو نواس ولم يسكن الصومعة إلى يومنا هذا أحد وهى مركز ظواف حلوان يشربون فيها لهذه العلة ولأن موضعه طيب نزه وعليها مكتوب بخط يذكرون أنه خط أبي نواس:

« ما أنصف الراهب من نفسه إذ نكح الناس ولا ينكح »

٣١ — وبمرج القلعة مدينة حسناء باردة الهواء جداً وفيها مياه باردة وعندها قلعة تشرف على بساتينها إلا أنها خراب يقال إن أبرويز قتل إبناً له فيها فخربت من[٣] ذلك وقد كان بَجْكَم التركى همّ ببنائها فمات قبل ذلك ومنها إلى الطَزَر وهى مدينة ذات جامع فى صحراء واسعة وفيها إيوان عظيم بناه خسروكرد بن شاهان ولا أثر بها سواه.

٣٢ — ويعطف منها يمنة إلى *ماسبذان[٤] ومهرجا نقذق وهى مدن عدّة منها أريوجان وهى مدينة حسنة فى صحراء بين جبال كثيرة الشجر كثيرة الحمات والكباريت والزاجات والبوارق والأملاح، وماؤها يخرج إلى البندنجين فيسقى النخل بها ولا أثر بها إلا حمات ثلاثة وعين إن احتقن إنسان بمائها أسهل إسهالا عظيما وإن شربه قذف أخلاطاً كثيرة وهو يضر أعصاب الرأس، ومن هذه المدينة إلى الرد والبراو[٥] عدّة فراسخ وبها قبر المهدى ولا أثر بها إلا بناء قد تعفّت رسومه

(١) فى ياقوت: مسلف، أى طويل شعر السالفة.

(٢) ا — متوفي.

(٣) ا — منه.

(٤) ا — ماسندان.

(٥) ا — الآثار. * الرذ والراق.

ولم يبق منه آثار[1] ، ثم تخرج منها إلى السيروان وبها آثار حسنة ومواطن عجيبة ، ثم تخرج منها ( f. 188 b. ) إلى الصيمرة وهى مدينة حسنة تجمع النخل والزيتون والجوز والثلج وفواكه الجبل والسهل وبينها وبين * الطرحان قنطرة عظيمة تكون ضعف قنطرة خانقين بديعة عجيبة .

٣٣ — ومنها إلى قرميسين وهى مدينة حسنة عجيبة ولا أثر فى داخلها إلا أثر دار يقال إنها كانت عجيبة وقد شاهدنا بها شيئاً عجيباً فى سنة أربعين وثلاثمائة ، وذلك أنّ *رجلا من رؤسائها أراد[2] بناء دار[3] قدّرها لنفسه وحرمه وحاشيته وصورها المهندسون له فما ابتدأ فى حفر الأساس ظهر له بناء فاستقصاه فأفضى به إلى دار على الصورة التى صوّرت له لا *يغاير[4] من حجرها ومجالسها وصحونها وقبابها وبيوتها شيئاً وزعموا أن هذه الدار من عمل الذى صوّر شبديز .

{ وهذا الخبر أيضاً نظنه من وهم أبى دلف } .

٣٤ — قال وصورة شبديز على فرسخ من مدينة قرميسين وهو رجل على فرس من حجر عليه درع لا *يحرم[5] من الحديد شيئا يتبين زرده والمسامير[6] المسمرة فى الزرد لا تشك من نظر إليه أنه متحرّك وهذه الصورة صورة برويز على فرسه شبديز وليس صورة فى الأرض تشبهها ، وفى الطاق الذى هذه الصورة فيه عدّة صور من نساء ورجال وفرسان وبين يديه رجل فى زى فاعل على رأسه قلنسوة وهو مشدود الوسط بيده بالكان يحفر به الأرض والماء يخرج من تحت رجله ويسير من هذا المكان إلى قنطرة على واد عريض يكون مثل قنطرة خانقين بل أحكم منها صنعة .

٣٥ — ومنها إلى جبل يقال له سُميره عال مشرف وفيه صور بديعة ونقوش حسنة يقال إن كسرى أبرويز كاف عملها لفرهاد الحكيم ودون هذا الموضع قنطرة عظيمة عجيبة البناء على واد بعيد القعر .

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(١) ا — الآثار .
(٢) ا — رجلين .. أرادا .
(٣) ا — دارا .
(٤) ا — لا يغار (؟)
(٥) ا — لا يحزم .
(٦) ا — المسابير .

٣٦ — ثم تسير من هذه القنطرة إلى قرية كبيرة غنّاء[١] كثيرة الخير يقال لها أبا أيوب منسوبة إلى . . . . .[٢] (f. 189 a) من * جرهم يكنّى أبا أيوب بناها وفيها دكان عظيم بالصخر وقد نقض بعض صخوره[٣] رجل من الأكراد وبنى بها حصناً عظيما يقال له سَرماج[٤] فى جبل مظل على هذه القرية .

٣٧ — وبعد هذا المكان قنطرة أعظم مما[٥] تقدم ذكره وأتقن[٦] الصنعة تعرف بقنطرة النعمان[٧] وكان السبب فى بنائها أن النعمان بن المنذر فى بعض ما كان يفد على كسرى اجتاز بواد عظيم بعيد القعر شاق النزول والصعود * وبينما هو يسير فيه إذ لحق امرأة معها صبي تريد العبور فلما جاءها موكبه وقد كانت كشفت ثيابها والصبى على عنقها ارتاعت ودهشت فألقت ثيابها وسقط الصبى عن عنقها فغرق فغمّ لذلك النعمان ورق لها ونذر أن يبنى هناك قنطرة فاستأذن كسرى فى ذلك فلم يأذن له لئلا يكون للعرب فى بلد العجم أثر فلما وافى بهرام جوبين لقتال أبرويز استنجد النعمان فأنجده على شرائط شرطها عليه منها أن يجعل له نصف الخراج بِبُرس وكوثى وأن يبنى القنطرة التى قدّمنا ذكرها فأجابه إلى ذلك فلما انصرف بهران جوبين بنى النعمان القنطرة التى ذكرنا[٨] .

٣٨ — وتسير من هذه القنطرة إلى قرية تعرف بدستجرد كسروية فيها أبنية عجيبة من جواسق وإيوانات كلها من الصخر المهندم لا يشك الناظر إليها أنها صخرة واحدة منقورة ومنها إلى قرية أخرى يقال لها ولا شجرد ذات العيون يقال إنّ فيها ألف عين يجتمع ماؤها إلى نهر واحد ، ومنها إلى ماذران وهى بحيرة يخرج منها ماء كثير مقدار أن يدير مائة رحا متفرقة مختلفة وعندها قصر كسرى شامخ البناء وبين يديه زلّاقة وبستان كبير .

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(١) ا — غنا .

(٢) ى — إلى رجل من جرهم وصوابها فى ياقوت « بأ أيوب »

(٣) صخرة .

(٤) ا — سرماخ .

(٥) ا — ما .

(٦) ا — ألقى .

(٧) ا — نعمان .

(٨) ا — ذكرناه .

**٣٩** — ومنها إلى قصر اللصوص وبناء هذا القصر عجيب جداً وذلك أنه على دكة من آجر ارتفاعها عن وجه الأرض نحو عشرين ذراعاً وفيه إيوانات وجواسق (f. 189 b) وخزائن يفوق ما تقدم رفعة وعلواً يتحير فى بنائه وحسن نقوشه الأبصار وكان هذا القصر معقل أبريز (و) متنزهته[١] لكثرة صيده وعذوبة مائه وحسن مروجه وصحاريه وحول هذا القصر مدينة كبيرة لها جامع .

٤٠ — ومنها إلى موضع يعرف بمطبخ كسرى أربعة فراسخ وهذا المطبخ بناء عظيم فى صحراء لا شئ حوله من العمران ، وكان أبرويز كما ذكرنا ينزل بقصر اللصوص وابنه شاه مردان ينزل بأسداباذ و بين المطبخ و بين قصر اللصوص أربعة فراسخ و بينه و بين اسداباذ ثلاثة فراسخ فاذا أراد الملك أن يتغذى اختطف الغلمان سماطين من قصر اللصوص إلى موضع المطبخ و بينهما أربعة فراسخ و يتناول بعضهم من بعض[٢] الغضائر إليه وكذلك من المطبخ إلى أسداباذ و بينهما ثلاثة فراسخ وسميت اسداباذ بأسد بن ذى السرو[٣] الحميرى .

٤١ — ومنها إلى همذان وهمذان مدينة دارا بن دارا وفى وسط همذان المدينة العتيقة وهى مدينة كبيرة مبنية على دكة يكون ارتفاعها *ثلاثين ذراعا ولها أربعة أبواب (و) طاقات عالية وكان دارا بناها[٤] استحساناً للمكان وكان موضعها أجمة مسبعة فلم يزل حتى غيض الماء عنها وبنى المدينة فيها ، وقد قيل إنها كانت قديمة وإن دارا لما زحف إليه ذو القرنين شاور وزراءه ، فى مدينة حصينة يحرز فيها حرمه وكنوزه فقال له بعضهم : « أعرف مدينة خرابا بين جبال شامخة وطرق وعرة إن بناها الملك وأحرز فيها ذخائره ووكل بحفظها أربعة * آلاف من ثقاته امتنعت على كل من رامها » ووصفها له فسار إليها دارا حتى رآها وعلم أنها تمتنع على من أرادها فبناها وجعل فيها خزائن غامضة[٥] لأمواله وكنوزه وجمع فيها حرمه ووكل بها ثقاته

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(١) ا ــ معقل أبرويز متنزهة .

(٢) ا ــ بعضهم بعضاً الغضائر من بعض إليه .

(٣) ا ــ السُرو ولعله السَرو .

(٤) ا ــ بنا .

(٥) كذا ــ ولعلها جامعة .

فلما كان من أمره مع دارا ما كان أنفذ إليها ذو القرنين جيشاً عظيما فأقام عليها مدّة لا يقدر على فتحها فهمّ (رئيس الجيش) بالانصراف فقال له فصحاؤه : « كاتبْ الملك فى انصرافك وعرّفه أمرها » (f. 190 a) فكتب إليه فى ذلك (وكتب) ذو القرنين إلى مؤدّبه أرسطاطاليس يعرّفه أمرها فأجابه أن « صوّرها لى بطرقها وجبالها وأنهارها » ففعل ذلك وأنفذ الصورة إليه فكتب يأمره بسدّ نهرها على نحو الفرسخ سنة وأن يجعل سدّه سكراً و يوثّقه فإذا كان بعد سنة فتح ماءه وقرن البقر والجواميس والبغال والبراذين بعضها مع بعض وأرسلها فى الماء فانها تفتح السكر و إذا فتحته حمل الماء على المدينة فهدم سورها وتهيأ له دخولها » ففعل ذلك فاقتلع الماء بحدّته ، لما انفتح السكر ، سور المدينة وحمل معه صخوراً كباراً هى إلى وقتنا هذا فى شوارع مدينة همذان ودخل أصحاب ذى القرنين المدينة لمّا اقتلع الماء السور وتربة همذان ذهبية كلها إلا أن الفحم بها قليل ويُنفق على ذلك مقدار ما يحصل منه ولا ربح فيه ولا حمّة فيها ولا معدن بها إلا معدن حجر سنباذج قد ظهر* لهم (١) .

٤٢ — ووراء قرية أبى أيوب المعروفة بالدكان قرية على فرسخ فيها بحيرة صغيرة القدر فى رأى العين لا يدرك غورها و يقال إن فيها غرق بعض ملوك الفرس وأن والدته سارت ومعها الأموال فبذلت لمن يخرجه أو شيئا من عظامه الرغائب وأن الغواصين اجتهدوا فى ذلك فلم يلحقوا لها غوراً فلما رأت ذلك أمرت بطمّها فحمل إليها من التراب ما لا يوقف على كثرته فكان يطرح فيها فلا * تيبس (٢) فلما أعياها (٣) سدّها انصرفت وعندها تل تراب عظيم هائل يقال إنه حمل دفعة واحدة تركته ليعلم الناس كثرة ما حملت وطرحت فيها فلم ينفعها ذلك .

وماء هذه البحيرة يختلط بماء دِينَوَر ويصبان جميعاً إلى واد يمر على *حمة مدرّجة لها حياض ينبع الماء إلى الحوض الأسفل فإذا زاد (٤) ماء الوادى

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(١) ا — ظهرهم . (٢) ا — ييبس . (٣) ا — اعيا . (٤) ا — ازاد .

وغمر الحوض الأسفل نبع ماء الحمة فى الحوض الذى فوقه فلا يزال على هذا الترتيب إلى آخر الحياض فإذا نقص الماء من الحوض الأعلى نبع الماء الذى ( f. 190 b ) تحته ولا يزال الأمر كذلك من حوض إلى الحوض الأسفل وماء هذا يجتمع وماء الصَيمرة ويصبان جميعاً إلى السوس .

٤٣ — وبلغنى أن الماء الذى تحت شبديز بقرميسين إذا ضربتَ ألف درهم وألقيت فيه حرارة السبك زادت ستة * دراهم ولا أدرى ما العلة فى هذا .

٤٤ — وتسير من همذان إلى نهاوند وبها ثور وسمكة من حجر حسناء الصنعة يقال * إنهما طلسم لبعض الآفات التى كانت بها ، وبها آثار الفرس حسنة وحصن فى وسطها عجيب البناء على السمك وبها قبور قوم من العرب استشهدوا فى صدر الإسلام وبها قبر عمرو بن معدى كرب (١) وماؤها بإجماع العلماء * غذّى مرى . وبها شجر خلاف تعمل منه الصوالجة ليس فى شئ من البلدان مثله صلابة وجودة .

ويقال إن رسولا لملك الروم (وصل) إلى المأمون وهو بمرو فدفع إليه كتاباً فلما قرأه ضم إلى الرسول جماعة من الجند وكتب له إلى عامل نهاوند أن يُخلى بينه وبين ما يريد فلما صار إليه قال له : « افعل ما أحببت » فصار إلى بابها الشرقى وذرع ما بين المصراعين ثم حفر فى النصف من الذرع نحو العشرين ذراعاً فأفضى إلى صخرة عظيمة فأمر بقلعها فقلعت وإذا تحتها بيت لطيف فيه صندوقان ( من ) ذهب مقفلان فأخذهما وانصرف إلى المأمون فأنفذ معه المأمون قوماً بلغوا إلى صاحبه ولم يدر أحد ما كان فى الصندوقين .

٤٥ — وبعدها إلى الكرج ولا آثار كسروية بها بل فيها آثار لآل أبى دلف وأبنية حسنة جليلة تدل على مملكة عظيمة ولها حمات وعيون ومنابع وهى الجادّة بين الأهواز والرى وبين أصفهان وهمذان .

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(١) ا — عمر معدى كرب .    (٢) ا — بلى .

٤٦ — وبعدها قُم وهى مدينة مستحدثة إسلامية لا أثر للأعاجم فيها والذى بناها طليحة بن الأحوص الأشعرى وفيها آبار ليس مثلها فى الأرض عذوبة وبرداً ويقال إن الثلج ربما خرج منها فى الصيف وأبنيتها بالآجر وفيها سراديب فى نهاية الطيب ( f. 191 a ) .

٤٧ — ومنها إلى الرى مفازة سبخة فيها رباطات ومناظر ومسالح[١] وفى وسط هذه المفازة حصن عظيم عادى هائل البناء له أبرجة مفرطة الكبر والعلو[٢] وسوره عريض عال مبنى بالآجر الكبار وداخله آزاج وعقود ويكون تقدير صحنه جريبين[٣] مساحة أو أكثر وعلى بعض أساطينه مكتوب « نقوم الأجرة من آجر هذا القصر بدرهم وثلثين و * ثلاثة أرطال خبز ودانق توابل وقنينة خمر صاف فمن صدق بذلك وإلا فلينطح رأسه بأركانه ( إن ) « شاء[٤] » وهذا ( دير ) الجص يعرف بدير بجين[٥] وحوله صهاريج منقورة فى الحجارة واسعة عظيمة والدير لا أثر فيه[٦] للعجم لأن العرب عفت آثار الفرس به ونقضت أبنيتهم .

٤٨ — وفى وسط الرى مدينة أيضاً عجيبة بأبواب حديد وسور عظيم وفيها المسجد الجامع وفى وسط المدينة أيضا جبل شامخ عليه قلعة حصينة بناها رافع بن هرثمة وهى اليوم خراب ويشرف على المدينة جبل يعرف بطبَرَك فيه أبنية آثار الفرس ونواويس وفيه معادن الذهب والفضة لايقوم دخلها بالنفقة عليها .

وبالرى موضع مما يلى المشرق يقال له جبلاباذ ( جيلاباذ ) وفيه أبنية وإيوانات وعقود شاهقة وبرك ومتنزهات عجيبة بناها مرداويز لا يشك من نظر إليها أنها من الأبنية القديمة الكسروية ، وبها سجن عظيم مهول محيط به بحر عميق عليه أجمة[٧]

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(١) ا — مصالح .

(٢) ا — العلق .

(٣) ا — حربين .

(٤) ى — ج ٣ ص ٤٩٠

(٥) يعنى بالفارسية دير كچين .

(٦) ا — فيها .

(٧) ا — بها .

نصب وهو من طين على دكة من تراب لا يعمل فيه نقب ولا يتخلص منه ذاعر بضرب من الحيل ولم أر فى الأبنية الحصينة فى معناه مثله .

٤٩ — وكان بها رجل من المجوس مات فى سنة * ثلاث وثلاثين وثلاثمائة وعهدى به وهو يسقى جيش خراسان و * أتباعهم (١) ومتصرفيهم الحول إلى الحول شراباً فى غاية الجودة مع ما يتبعه من حملان وخلع (٢) وطيّب مأكول وفاكهة ويقال إن تقدير ثمن الظروف التى تخرج من داره إلى الناس ( f. 191 b ) فيها الشراب فى كل سنة خمسون ألف درهم وكان من كرمه أنه متى لقيته جماعة من الخاصة أو العامة من الغرباء فى أى زى كانوا فسألوه شراباً ختم لهم على شمع أو طين إلى خازنه لكل واحد منهم قرابة تسعة عشر رطلا ولكل قرابة خمسة دراهم للفاكهة والنقل ولا يمتنع على أحد بتّةً ولم نشاهد فى زماننا مثله وخيره متعارف مشهور .

{ هذا الخبر نحْن نظن أيضاً بعض هنات أبى دلف } .

وقد خرج من الرى عدة من العلماء والكتّاب والشعراء وكان فيها رؤساء وتنّاء منهم الجريش بن أحمد ملك ( ؟ ) ألف قرية ليس فيها جريب واحد غصب ولا إقطاع ولا إيغار وكان إذا قدم مدينة * السلام حملت خزائنه فى الطبّ دون غيره على مائة * جمل (٣) وكان إذا حضر مجلس الوزير طرح له مصلى ولم يفعل هذا بأحد غيره من سائر الملوك .

٥٠ — ومياه الرى * عذبة وبيئة (٤) وبها ماء يقال له سورين رأيت أهلها ينكرونه ويتطيرون منه ولا يقربونه فسألت عن أمره فقال لى شيخ منهم سبب ذلك أن السيف الذى قتل به يحيى بن زيد عليه * السلام غسل به .

ولهم الثياب الرازية التى لا تعمل فى سائر الدنيا إلا فى بلدهم ولقد رأيت ثوباً منها تكسيره نحو مائتى شبر وقد بيع بعشرة * آلاف درهم ولأهلها الخبث والغباوة

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(١) ا ــ تباعهم .
(٢) ا ــ خلعة .
(٣) ا ــ حمل .
(٤) ا ــ عذب وبيّه .

والذكاء ولهم النقب الذى لا يلحقهم فيه أحد يقال إن بعضهم ينقب من الفراسخ الكثيرة و ينقب تحت المياه مثل دجلة وكبار الأنهار والنقب الرازى يضرب (به) المثل ومعهم جسارة على سفك الدماء والقتل .

ومن الرى الرستاق الذى يقال له قصران وهى جبال شامخة عالية إذا امتنع أهلها على السلطان لحمل الخراج لم يقدر عليهم وإنما لهم عند صاحب الرى رهائن[١] .

وأكثر فاكهة الرى من هذه الجبال ويقيم الورد بالرى أربعة أشهر ويؤكل بها المشمش والإجاص[٢] (f. 192 a) أكثر من هذا المقدار وبها حمات صغار تنفع من الجرب ومعادن خفية .

وأرضهم تتصل بجبال بنى قارن ودنباوند وجبال الديلم وطبرستان وشاهدت فى بعض جبالها بحيرة تكون استدارتها نحو جريب يعتصر فيها مياه أوديتها وسيول شعابها فى أيام الشتاء والربيع فلا يزيد ماؤها ولا تنقص فى شتاء ولا صيف وأنه لينصبّ فى اليوم الواحد من أيام الشتاء والربيع ما لو ساح على الأرض لكان بحراً عجاجا وحول هذه البحيرة ميادين نرجس وبنفسج وورد وبالقرب منها أثر قصر قديم لم يبق منه إلا بعض حيطانه وقبة باب داره ولم أجد أحداً يعطيني خبراً .

١٥ — ودُنباوند مدينتان تعرف إحداهما[٣] بويمه والأخرى بشلَمْبة ، وفى كل واحدة منهما مسجد جامع وبينهما قرى كثيرة وجبال عالية ، ويخرج من بين المدينتين واد يقال له واد الهبر عجيب الشأن كثير الشجر والحمات والمياه والغياض منفذ مائه إلى خور الرى ، وبويمة هذه ريح عظيمة تهب ليلا ونهاراً أياماً من السنة معروفة يكون نحو * ثلاثة أشهر فلا يحجبها عن الناس حجاب وربما قتلت من تلحقه

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(١) ا — نهاين .
(٢) ا — اخاص .
(٣) ا — أحديهما .

فى طريق أو صحراء فينتقل أهل هذه المدينة عنها إلى جبل بالقرب منها فيستترون به حتى ينقضى أوانها ثم يعودون إلى منازلهم .

وبدنباوند جبل[١] عال مشرف شاهق شاخ لا يفارق أعلاه الثلج شتاء ولا صيفا لا يقدر أحد من الناس (أن) يعلو[٢] ذروته ولا يقاربها يعرف بجبل بيوراسف يراه الناس من مرج القلعة ومن عقبة همذان والناظر إليه من الرى يظن أنه مشرف عليه وإنّ مسافة بينهما فرسخ أو فرسخان وبينهما ثلاثون فرسخا ، ويزعم العامة أن سليمان ابن داود عليهما السلام حبس فيها ماردا من مردة الشياطين يقال له صخر المارد ، ويزعم آخرون أنّ افريذون الملك حبس فيه البيوراسب وأن دخانا يخرج من كهف (فى الجبل يقول العامة إنه نفسه ولذلك أيضا يرون نارا فى ذلك الكهف)[٣] (f. 192 b) يقولون إنها عيناه وإنّ همهمته تسمع فى ذلك الكهف فاعتبرت ذلك وارتصدته ولزمت المكان وصعدت فى الجبل حتى وصلت إلى نصفه بمشقة شديدة ومخاطرة بالنفس وما أظن أنّ أحداً يجاوز الموضع الذى بلغت إليه بل ما وصل إليه إنسان فيما أظنّ فتأملت الجبال فرأيت عينا كبيرة نقية وحولها كبريت مستحجر فإذا طلعت عليه الشمس والتهب ظهرت فيه نار وإلى جانبه مجرى (ماء) يمرّ تحت الجبل يخترقه رياح مختلفة فتحدث بينها أصوات متضادّة على إيقاعات متناسبة ، فمرة مثل صهيل الخيل ، ومرة مثل نهيق[٤] الحمير ، ومرة مثل كلام الناس ، ويظهر للمصغى* إليها مثل الكلام الجهورى دون المفهوم وفوق المجهول ، يتخيل السامع أنه كلام بدوى ولغة إنسى ، وذلك الدخان الذى يزعمونه[٥] نفسه بخار تلك العين الكبريتية وهذا[٦] الحال يحتمل على ظاهر هذه الصورة ما تدّعيه العامة .

ووجدت فى بعض شعاب هذا الجبل آثار بناء قديم وحوله مشاهد تدل على أنها مصائف بعض الأكاسرة وإذا نظر أهل هذه الناحية إلى النمل تدّخر الحب وتكثر

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(١) ا ــ جبال .
(٢) ا ــ يعلوا .
(٣) مفقود فى الأصل ونقلناه من ياقوت ج ٣ ص ٦٠٦
(٤) ا ــ نحيق .
(٥) ا ــ تزعمون .
(٦) ا ــ هذه .

من ذلك علموا أنها سنة قحط وجدب و إذا دامت عليهم الأمطار وتأذوا بها وأرادوا قطعها صبوا لبن المعز على النار فانقطعت وقد امتحنت هذا من دعواهم دفعات فوجدتهم صادقين وما رأى أحد رأس هذا[1] الجبل فى وقت من الأوقات منحسراً عنه الثلج إلا وقعت الفتنة وهُريقت[2] الدماء من الجهة التى تراها * منحسرة ، وهذه العلامة أيضا صحيحة بإجماع[3] أهل البلد و بالقرب من هذا الجبل معدن الكحل و * المرتك[4] والأسرب والزاج .

٥٢ — وعلى حدّ هذا المكان طبرستان وهى مدن كثيرة وأعمال واسعة وبها غياض لا تحصى وأنهار ومياه واسعة ( ؟ ) وبها عدة معادن الذهب أجلها وأجودها ما يوجد بخشم وهو شعب فى جبل بها .

وطبرستان اليوم فى يد العلوية وهم ملوكها منذ خرج عنها سليمان ( f. 193 a ) ابن عبد الله بن طاهر وعدلهم ظاهر وسياستهم منتظمة وأمر الرعية معهم مستقيم وأول من ملكها منهم يلقب بالناصر و بعده الداعى ثم الهادى وصاحبها فى وقتنا هذا الثائر و بطبرستان أترج ليس فى سائر البلدان مثله حسناً وكبرا .

و يعمل بها ماء الزعفران يصاعد كالماورد ولا يتم عمله فى غيرها والمطر فيها دائم مدّة الشتاء وأكثر * أشهر[5] الصيف وبها حمات كثيرة ولها قصب سكر دون الأهوازى ووردها غير ذكى وبها جماعة يتعاطون الحذق بعلم النجوم ، وبها معادن الزاجات وشبوب منها الشب الأبيض الذى يصلح لتبييض الفضة السوداء ، وليس يكون إلا بها ولا يعمل فى بلد من البلدان مثل المرداسنج المعمول بها ، وتعمل بها أكسية عجيبة يبلغ الكساء منها جملة دنانير ، وكذا مناديلهم موصوف فى جميع البلدان وهى متصلة بجرجان .

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(١) ا — هذه .

(٢) ا — هريقته .

(٣) ا — صحيح باجتماع .

(٤) ا — المرتك .

(٥) ا — شهر .

٥٣ — ومن الرى على طريق الجادّة يسير الناس إلى جرجان فى المفازة وعن ذات الشمال من الجادّة جبال طبرستان وفى بعض جبال طبرستان بين سمنان ودامغان فلجة تخرج منها ريح فى أوقات من السنة إلى من يسلك طريق الجادّة فلا تصيب أحداً إلا أتت عليه ولو أنه مشتمل بالوبر وبين الطريق وهذه الفلجة فرسخ واحد وفتحتها نحو أربعمائة ذراع ومقدار ما ينال أذاها فرسخان وليست تأتى على شئ إلا جعلته كالرميم ، ويقال لهذه الفلجة وما يقرب منها من الطريق المادران ، وإنى لأذكر وقد صرت إليها مجتازاً ومعى نحو المائتى نفس أو أكثر ومن الدواب أكثر من ذلك فهبت علينا فما سلم من سائر الناس والدواب غيرى ورجل آخر لا غير وذاك أن دوابنا كانت جياداً فوافت بنا أزجاً وصهريجاً كانا على الطريق واستكنّنا بالأزج وصدرنا ثلاثة أيام بلياليها لا نحس بشئ ثم استيقظنا بعد ذلك فوجدنا الدابتين قد نفقتا ويسر الله عز وجل لنا قافلة حملتنا وقد أشفينا على الموت (f. 193 b) .

٥٤ — وسمنان مدينة صغيرة كثيرة الأهل واسعة الفواكه والخيرات لها مياه عذبة ويعمل بها مناديل منقوشة الأعلام مثمّنة يبلغ المنديل خمسين ديناراً ويعمل بها أيضاً سبنيات عجيبة الصنعة تباع السبنية بمائتى دينار وأكثر ويقال إن المرأة التى تعملها تعمى من دقة الصنعة وكثرة العمل .

٥٥ — والدامغان مدينة حسناء كثيرة الفواكه وفاكهتها نهاية والرياح بها ما تنقطع ليلا ولا نهاراً وبها مقسم للماء كسروى عجيب الشأن يخرج ماؤه من مغارة فى جبل ثم ينقسم إذا انحدر[1] عنه (على) مائة وعشرين قسما لعشرين * رستاقا[2] لا يزيد قسم على صاحبه ولا يمكن تأليفه على غير هذه القسمة وهو مستطرف جداً ما رأيت فى سائر البلدان مثله ولا شاهدت أحسن منه[3] وهنالك قرية تعرف بقرية الجمالين فيها عين تنبع دماً لا يشك فيه لأنه جامع لأوصاف الدم كلها إذا ألقى

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(١) ا ـ انحذر .   (٣) زيادة عن ى .
(٢) ا ـ رستاق .

فيها زئبق صار لوقته حجراً يابساً صلباً منقشاً ، وتعرف هذه القرية أيضاً * بفنجان[١] .
وبالدامغان تفاح يقال له القومسى جيد حسن أحمر الصبغ مشرق الحمرة يحمل
إلى العراق وبها معادن زاجات وأملاح ولا كباريت فيها . وبها معدن الذهب الصالح .

٥٦ — ومنها إلى قرية كبيرة شبيهة بالمدينة الصغيرة يقال لها بسطام ،
كان منها أبو * يزيد[٢] البسطامى رحمة الله عليه . وبها تفاح حسن يحمل إلى العراق[٣]
يعرف بالبسطامى وبها خاصيتان : إحداهما أنه لم ترَ عاشقاً قط من أهلها ، ومتى دخلها
إنسان فى قلبه هوى وشرب من مائها زال العشق عنه . والأخرى أنه لم يرمد بها
أحد قط ، ولا معدن فيها إلا شئ من * مغنيسيا . ولها ماء مرّ ينفع إذا شرب
على الريق من البخر ، و إذا احتقن به أبرأ البواسير الباطنة . وتنقطع بها رائحة المسك
والعنبر والكافور وسائر أصناف الطيب إلا العود فانه لاينقطع . وبها (f. 194 a)
حجارة سود يبيض الأسرب بها بياضاً حسناً . وبها حيات صغار وثابّات ، وذباب
كثير مؤذ[٤] . وشرابها أخضر وعلى تل بإزاء نهر فيها قصر[٥] مفرط السعة عالى السور
كثير الأبنية والمقاصير يقال إنه من بناء سابور ذى الأكتاف . ودجاجها لا يأكل
العـــذرة .

٥٧ — وسرتُ منها متياسراً إلى جرجان فى هبوط وصعود وأودية هائلة .
وجرجان مدينة حسناء على واد عظيم فى ثغور[٦] بلدان السهل والجبل والبر والبحر .
بها النخل والزيتون والجوز والرمان وقصب السكر والأترج . وبها إبريسم
جيد جدّاً لا يستحيل صبغه . وبها أشجار كثيرة لها خواص عجيبة . وبها ثعابين
تهول الناظر ولا ضرر بها .

٥٨ — وسرت منها فى مفازة خوارزم فرأيت بها آثاراً كثيرة لجماعة
من ملوك العرب والعجم . وأشجارها وغياضها كثيرة جدا . ولا يقع فيها ثلج . ومطرها

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(١) ا — فنجار . (٣) ا — العرب . (٥) ى — بازائها قصر .
(٢) ا — زيد . (٤) ا — مؤذى . (٦) ا — تغوث .

دائم لا يكاد ينقطع . وهى متصلة برساتيق نيسابور وأيضاً رستاق يعرف بأسسقان ( * بالشقان ؟ ) خسف منه فى بعض السنين نيف وثلاثون[١] قرية وهبت عليه ريح عاصفة[٢] وحملت من ذلك الخسف * رملا أحمر[٣] جاوزت به فى الجو أعمال طوس ونيسابور ومرت به نحو مائة وخمسين ( فرسخا ) . وهذا مما شاهدته ووقفت عليه وذلك أنى مررت بهذا الرستاق وهو فى نهاية العمارة وكثرة البساتين وتخرق الأنهار فما استقررت بنيسابور حتى اتصل بى أنه خسف به ، فعدت لأنظر إليه فرأيته وقد ساخ ( فى ) الأرض نحو مائة قامة أو أكثر ورأيت المياه تحوفته[٤] من جوانبه .

٥٩ — وطوس أربع مدن منها اثنتان كبيرتان واثنتان صغيرتان . وبها آثار أبنية إسلامية جليلة ، وبها دار حُمَيد بن قَحْطبة . ومساحتها ميل فى مثله . وفى بعض بساتينها قبر على بن موسى الرضا رضى الله عنه ، وقبر الرشيد . وبينها وبين نيسابور قصر هائل عظيم محكم البنيان لم أر مثله علو جدران و إحكام بناء . وفى ( f. 194 b ) داخله مقاصير تحير فى حسنها الأوهام وآزاج وأروقة وخزائن وحُجَر للخلوة . وسألت عن أمره فوجدت أهل البلد وهم مجتمعون على أنه من بناء (بعض) التبابعة وأنه كان قصد بلد الصين من اليمن فلما صار إلى هذا المكان رأى أن يخلّف حرمه وكنوزه وذخائره فى مكان يسكن إليه و يسير متخففاً . فبنى هذا القصر وأجرى له نهراً عظيما آثاره بينة . وأودعه كنوزه وذخائره وحرمه ، ومضى إلى الصين فبلغ ما أراد وانصرف وحمل بعض ما كان جعله فى القصر و بقيت له فيه أموال وذخائر تخفى أمكنتها إلا أن صفات موضعها مكتوبة معه . فلم يزل على هذه الحال تجتاز به القوافل وتنزله السابلة[٥] ولا يعلمون أن فيه شيئاً حتى استبان[٦] ذلك واستخرجه أسعد بن أبى يَعْفُر صاحب كَحْلان فى أيامنا هذه ، لأن الصفة كانت وقعت إليه فوجه قوماً استخرجوها وحملوها إليه .

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(١) ا — ثلثين .

(٢) ا — عاصف .

(٣) ا — وى — رجلا .

(٤) ا — تحر فيه ، والتصويب عن ى .

(٥) ا — السابل .

(٦) ا — استتار .

٦٠ — وليس بنيسابور أثر ظاهر للعجم ولا للعرب إلا أبنية بناها بعض آل طاهر شبيهة بالأبنية القديمة . ولمائها خاصية فى إظهار البغاء والأُبنة قلَّ من يسلم من ذلك إلا من أقل شرب الماء بها . وهذا عند أهلها خبر مستفيض . وأكثر ما ينال الغرباء . وفى نسائها جمال ظاهر وقلة امتناع عمن يريدهن . وبها معدن نحاس تفوق سائر معادن الأرض جودته ، وبها ريباس عظيم ويكبّر حتى تصير القصبة[١] الواحدة منه تزن خمسين منا . وسيستعظم هذا من قولى من يسمعه وما قلت إلا ما شاهدت ورأيت . وبها سفرجل يعظم جدا . ولقد وزنت منه واحدة[٢] فكان وزنها أربعمائة درهم ونيفاً وعشرين درهما . وفى وسط المدينة مدينة عتيقة لها سور شاهق وخندق عظيم وأبراج[٣] هائلة .

٦١ — وعلى حدّها مدينة هراة يجلب (منها) الزبيب الخراسانى الجيد والمشمش . ويقال إن ذا[٤] القرنين بنى سورها وسور أصبهان القديم .

٦٢ — وأصبهان صحيحة الهواء (f. 195 a) نقية الجو خالية من جميع الهوام لا تبلى فى تربتها الموتى ولا تتغير فيها رائحة اللحم . ولو بقيت القدر بعد أن تطبخ[٥] شهراً ما تغيرت . وربما حفر الإنسان بها حفيرة لحال من الأحوال فهجم[٦] على قبر له ألوف سنين والميت فيه على حاله لم يتغير . وتربتها أصح ترب الأرض . ويبقى بها التفاح غضاً سبع سنين . ولا تسوّس[٧] بها الحنطة كما تسوس فى غيرها ، وبها آثار كثيرة حسنة .

٦٣ — وبينها وبين الأهواز قنطرة إيذج . وهى من العجائب المذكورة لأنها مبنية[٨] بالصخر على واد يابس بعيد القعر . وإيذج كثيرة الزلازل وبها معادن كثيرة . وبها ضرب من القاقلُى تنفع عصارته للنقرس . وفيها بيت نار * مهم[٩] كان يوقد إلى زمن الرشيد .

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(١) ا ــ القصب .
(٢) ا ــ واحد .
(٣) ا ــ ابرجة .
(٤) ا ــ ذى .
(٥) ا ــ يطبخ .
(٦) ا ــ فهجر .
(٧) ا ــ يتسوس .
(٨) ا ــ منبتة
(٩) ا ــ فيهم .

٦٤ — ودونها بفرسخين مما يلى البصرة صَوْر من الماء . وهو مجمع أنهار يعرف بفم البوّاب . إذا وقع فيه إنسان أو دابة لايزال يدور به أبداً حتى يموت ثم يقذفه إلى الشاطئ من غير أن يَغيب فى الماء أويركبه الموج . وهذا من الأمور الظريفة لأن الذى يقع فيه لايرسب فيه ولايعلو ماؤه عليه . ويُفتتح لخراجها قبل النيروز الفارسى بشهر . وهذا الرسم مخالف لرسوم الخراج فى سائر الدنيا . ولا يجاورها المدّ والجزر . وهى سفلى أرض الأهواز منخفضة عنها بكثير . ومائية قصب سكرها تزيد على سائر قصب السكر فى سائر الأهواز أربعة فى كل عشرة . وفانيذها يعمل عمل السِّجْزى .

٦٥ — وسوق الأهواز تخترقها مياه مختلفة منها الوادى الأعظم وهو ماء (مدينة) تُستَر يمرّ على جانبها ومنه يأخذ واد عظيم يدخلها[1] وعلى هذا الوادى قنطرة عظيمة عليها مسجدواسع حسن . وعليه أرحاء عجيبة ونواعير بديعة وماؤه فى وقت المدود يحمرّ[2] ويصب إلى الباسيان والبحر . ويخرقها[3] وادى المسرُقان وهو من ماء تستر أيضاً . ويخترق عسكر مكرم . ولون مائه فى سائر أيام نقصان المياه أبيض ويزداد فى (الشتاء و) (f. 195 b) أوقات المدود بياضاً . وسكّرها أجود سكر الأهواز .

وعلى الوادى الأعظم شاذَرْوان حسن عجيب متقن الصنعة معمول من الصخر المهندم يحبِس الماء على أنهار عدّة . وبإزائه مسجد لعلى بن موسى الرضا خَطَّه فى اجتيازه به وهو مقبل من المدينة يريد خراسان . وبها نهر آخر يمرّ على حافتها من جانب المشرق يأخذ من وراء واد يعرف بسُوراب . وبها آثار كسروية يسيرة .

٦٦ — ومنها إلى دامَ هُرْمز . وهذه المدينة جليلة والطريق منها إلى دَورق على بيوت نار فى مفازة * مقفرة[4] . وفيها أبنية عادية عجيبة . والمعادن فى أعمالها كثيرة وقلما رأيت ملحا أحكم فى الصنعة من ملحها .

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(١) ى : مدخله .
(٢) ا — احمر .
(٣) ولعله يخترق .
(٤) ا — مفقرة .

٦٧ — وبدورق آثار قديمة لقباذ بن دارا[١] . وبها صيد كثير إلا أنه يتجنب الرعى فى أماكن منها ولا يدخلها بوجه ولا سبب . ويقال إن خاصية ذلك من طلسم عملته أُمه له (لأنه) كان لهجاً بالصيد فى تلك الأماكن . (و) ربما أخلّ بالنظر فى أمور المملكة مدّة . فيقال إنها عملت له هذا الطِّلَّسْمَ ليتجنب الوحش تلك المواضع التى كان يتصيد بها . وبها هوامّ قتّالة لا يُبلّ سليمها . وبها عيون للكبريت الأصفر البحرى ( ؟ ) وهو يسرج الليل عليه . ولا يوجد هذا الكبريت فى غيرها . وإن حمل منها إلى سواها لم يسرج وإن أتى بالنار من غير دورق واشتعلت فى ذلك الكبريت أحرقته أصلا . فأما نارها فإنها لا تحرقه . وهذا من ظريف الأشياء وعجيبها ولا يوقف على العلة فى ذلك . وفى أهلها سماحة[٢] ليست لغيرهم من أهل الأهواز . وأكثر نسائها لا يرددن[٣] يد لامس وأهلها قليلو الغيرة .

٦٨ — وآسك متصلة بها وهى مدينة وقريات . وفيها إيوان ءال حسن فى صحراء على *عين[٤] غزيرة وبيئة . وبإزاء هذا الإيوان قبة منيفة[٥] (بنيف) سمكها على مائة ذراع بناها قباذ[٦] . وفيها مسجد . وخارجها عدّة قبور لقوم استشهدوا فى أيام الفتوح . وعلى هذه القبة آثار الستائر . وما رأيت فى سائر( f.169 a ) البلدان قبة أحسن بناء منها ولا أحكم صنعة . وعلى بابها الغربى كتابة منقوشة فى الصخر بالفهلوية .

٦٩ — وبينها وبين أرجان قرية تعرف بالهنديجان ذات آثار عجيبة وأبنية عاديّة تُثار منها الدفائن كما تثار[٧] بمصر . وبها نواويس بديعة الصنعة وبيوت نار ويقال إن جيلا[٨] من الهند لما قصدت بعض ملوك الفرس لتزيل مملكته كانت الوقعة فى هذا المكان . فغلبت الفرس الهند وهزمتهم[٩] هزيمة قبيحة ، فهم يتبركون بهذا الموضع .

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(١) ويجب أن يكون قباذ بن فيروز .

(٢) سماجة ؟

(٣) ا — يردون .

(٤) ا — علين .

(٥) ا — مبنية .

(٦) ى — قباذ والد أنوشروان .

(٧) ا — تثاثر .

(٨) ا — خيل الهند .

(٩) ا — فهزمتهم .

٧٠ — ونهر المَسرُقان[١] يشق أعمالا كثيرة ويسقى ضياعاً واسعة ومبدؤه من تُستَر. وتستر ذات آثار وأعاجيب وخواص وبها قبر دانيال عليه السلام. وقد قيل (إنّه) بالسوس، ولها قناطر وشاذَرْوان[٢] ما رأيت فى شئ من البلدان مثلها. وبها معادن كثيرة، وأكثر أبنيتها لقرد جُشنس[٣] (؟) بن شاه مرد وكان من عظماء الفرس، أكثرَ همته فى البناء وإحكامه وتشديده. وهناك قنطرة عجيبة مشهورة بنتها[٤] أخته خوراذ[٥] أم أردشير.

٧١ — وهى التى احتالت حتى قتلت بعض ملوك اليمن. وذلك أنه قتل أخاها ثم تزوجها بعد قتله إياه، فلما زفت إليه وهى كارهة لذلك وكانت قد أخذت معها عدّة غلمان مُرد من أبناء ملوك فارس وألبستهم لبس[٦] الجوارى وقالت لهم: «إنّ ملك العرب قد قتل ملوككم وأهل الرياسة منكم وهو قاتلكم متى علم بكم، ثم لم يقنعه الذى فعل حتى اغتصب ملكتكم وابنة ملككم نفسها، وقد[٧] * عزمت على قتله فأى شئ عندكم؟» قالوا: «نحن طوع يدك مرينا بما شئت» قالت: «إذا أدخلتُ إليه فادخلوا معى كأنكم جوار لى فإذا خلوت به وجأتُه[٨] بخنجر معى، وليكنْ معكم أنتم خناجر، فإذا فعلت ذلكً فأجهزوا عليه» قالوا: «نفعل كما تريدين» فلما أدخلتْ إليه وخلا بها وهو لا يأبه بالغلمان ويظنهم جواريها وجأته بالخنجر وبادر[٩] الغلمان فقتلوه وخرجت وإياهم إلى مكان بالقرب من غلمانه وحاشيته فأتوا عليهم.

٧٢ — وهى (f. 196 b) أيضا صاحبة القنطرة المعروفة بقنطرة خُرّزاذ[١٠] التى بين إيذج والرباط وهذه القنطرة من عجائب[١١] الدنيا وذلك أنها مبنية

(١) ا — مشرقان.
(٢) شادروانا.
(٣) ا — جشنش.
(٤) ا — بنته.
(٥) ى — ج ٤ ص ١٨٩ خرازاد أم أردشير (؟).
(٦) ا — لبست.
(٧) ا — علمت.
(٨) ا — وجيته.
(٩) ا — بادرا.
(١٠) ى — ج ٤ ص ١٨٩ خرزاد (* خرّزاد).
(١١) ا — العجايب.

على واد يابس لا ماء فيه إلا فى أوان المدود من الأمطار فإنه حينئذ يصير بحراً عجاجاً وفتحه على وجه الأرض أكثر من ألف ذراع وعمقه مائة وخمسون ذراعاً وفتح أسفله فى قراره نحو عشرة أذرع[1] وقد ابتدئ بعمل هذه القنطرة من أسفلها إلى أن بلغ بها وجه الأرض بالرصاص والحديد كلما علا البناء ضاق وجعل بين وجهه وجنب الوادى حشو من خُبث الحديد وصُب عليه الرصاص المذاب حتى صار بينه وبين وجه الأرض نحو أربعين ذراعا وصار فتحه هناك مائة واثنى عشرة ذراعا فعقدت القنطرة عليه فهى على وجه الأرض وحُشى ما بينها وبين جنبى الوادى بالرصاص المصلب[2] بُحاتة النحاس وهذه القنطرة طاق واحد عجيب الصنعة محكم العمل.

وكان المِسْمعى قطعها فمكثت دهراً لا يتسع أحد لبنائها فأضر ذلك بالسابلة ومن كان يجتاز عليها لا سيما فى الشتاء ومدود الأودية . وكان ربما صار إليها قوم من يقرب منها فيحتالون فى قلع حشوها من الرصاص بالجهد الشديد فلم تزل على ذلك دهراً حتى أعاد ما انهدم منها وعقدها أبو عبد الله محمد بن أحمد القُمى المعروف بالشيخ وزير الحسن بن بويه فانه جمع الصناع والمهندسين واستفرغ الجهد والوُسع[3] فى أمرها وكان الرجال يحطون إليها بالزُبل[4] فى البكر والحبال فإذا استقروا على الأساس أذابوا الرصاص والحديد وصبوا على الحجارة ولم يمكنه عقد الطاق إلا بعد سنين فيقال إنه لزمه على ذلك سوى أجرة الفعلة ، فإن أكثرهم كانوا مسخرين من رساتيق إيذج وأصفهان ، ثلاثمائة ألف دينار وخمسون ألف دينار وفى مشاهدتها والنظر إليها عبرة لأولى الألباب .

[ثم يليها بلا فاصل العنوان وهو : « هذا الكتاب أحمد بن فضلان بن العباس ابن راشد بن حماد مولى محمد بن سليمان رسول المقتدر بالله إلى ملك الصقالبة يذكر فيه ما شاهد فى بلد الترك والخزر والروس والصقالبة والباشغرد وغيرهم الخ » ] .

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(١) ا ، ى : العشرة .
(٢) ا ــ الماصلب .
(٣) ا ــ والواسع .
(٤) جمع زبيل .

تم الطبع فى ٢ من ربيع الأول سنة ١٣٧٣
( ٩ من نوفمبر سنة ١٩٥٣ )

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## POSTSCRIPT

The readers of this small book will probably discover in it a number of misprints and deficiencies. I am grateful to the Cultural Department of the Egyptian Ministry of Education and to the Cairo University Press for kindly listening to my suggestions, but to control from Cambridge the printing carried out in Cairo was a difficult task. The publication of the book extended over a period of three years, and each "sheet" of sixteen pages had to be printed in its final form before the following portion could be set up. Thus I have never had in my hands the complete set of proofs to compare simultaneously all the sheets of English and Arabic text. Often there were fairly numerous corrections on the last proofs, but after signing the latter my responsibility in the matter ceased.

As the only manuscript of the Arabic original was transcribed by a non-Arab (see my Introduction, p. 27) and was full of irregularities and misunderstandings, the best plan would have been to reproduce it in photograph, but this proved impossible in view of the smudges which would have come out black. The quotations from Abū-Dulaf in Yāqūt's ***Mu'jam al-buldān*** were useful, but it became clear that in trying to improve on the original, Yāqūt altered the phrasing and abridged some passages, not without some misunderstandings as a result (see § 20). My firm intention was to give a true picture of the newly discovered original and to relegate to footnotes the suggested corrections and Yāqūt's different readings, but as the proofs of the Arabic text travelled between Cairo and Cambridge, some small inconsistencies in this regard may have crept into the text.

Despite the imperfections of the text preserved in the unique manuscript, I hope that my interpretation of the ***risāla*** will serve to elucidate a number of difficult passages and names and in general to follow Abū-Dulaf's peregrinations and stories.

***8 February 1955***

Cairo Univ. Press, 192-1952-500 ex.

D.—*Selected Terms :*

C.—*Authorities Quoted and Acknowledgments:*

B.—*Persons, Dynasties, Tribes :*

# INDEX

A.— *Geography:*

*H.*-P. 18 ; I learn that the late Prof. I. Y. Kratchkovsky published an article under the title "The second *risāla* of Abū-Dulaf in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary", in *Izvestiya of the Academy of Azarbayjan*, 1949, No. 8, which is inaccessible to me. The title would suggest that the learned author had in view the quotations given by Yāqūt rather than the Mashhad MS.

*I.*-P. 76 : In the *History of the Emperor Heraclius* by the Armenian bishop Sebeos, III, ch. 27, the emperor from the region of Kogovit (Bayezid) marched to Ctesiphon *via* : *i Her ev i Zarevand gavar*. This does not seem to indicate that, marching from the west, he went *first* to Her (Khoy) and *then* to Zarevand, but only that he passed through the territory jointly called "Her and Zarevand".

The matter is complicated by the fact that, according to Asolik, III, ch. 3 (Macler's trans. p. 12), the heretic Smbat of Tʿondrak was originally of "Zarehavan in the district Tsalkotn" ("the foot of the Flower mountain") which corresponds to the later (Turkish) Ala-dagh (on the head-water of the Eastern Euphrates, or Murad-su). Tsalkotn could hardly have lain on Heraclius's road to Khoy. It is possible that Asolik only approximately indicated the appurtenance of Zarehavan (Zūrāvā?) to Tsalkotn. The fact remains that Abū-Dulaf (§ 18) associates Zarāvand with Salmas. The wondrous spring should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Kohna-Shahr ("the old town") which is situated to the west of the present-day centre of Salmas, called Dīlmaqān, or Dīlmān "the place of the Daylamites".

*J.*-P. 106 : Bujnūrd is situated in the Atrak valley. West of it rises the Ala-dagh over which two passes lead to the Isfarāyin valley. Shuqān lies to the west of the northern pass. It is interesting (see our § 58) that above it a powerful spring comes out of the rock and forms one of the head-waters of the Isfarāyin river. The region of Bujnūrd is exposed to earthquakes. I do not think * *Samalqān* (downstream from Bujnūrd) would be a better restoration than * *Shuqān*.

Unfortunately nothing in the text helps either to locate this " fief called the blessed B.RĀW ", or to understand why it was called " blessed ". *Muṣābaratan* possibly means " on credit ".

*C.*—P. 50 : *Nihāvand.*

On the treasure of Nihāvand see also Dīnawari, ed. Guirgas, 145-6. *Cf.* Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 499.

*D.*—P. 51, line 12 : *Dayr al-Jiṣṣ.*

In his *Siyāsat-nāma*, p. 58, Niẓām al-mulk refers to a Ribāt called *Dayr-i gachīn*, which is different from our place for it lay in the region of Kerman and was exposed to the raids of the Kūch and Balūch.

*E.*—P. 66, § 4 : *Shīz.*

According to the *Farhang-i jogrāfiyā'ī-yī Irān*, IV, 6 in the neighbourhood of Takht-i Sulayman, there are mines of arsenic, sulphur, copper, lead and other minerals (*sang-i maʿdanī*).

*F.*—P. 78 : *Aflūghūniya—Kūghūniya.*

In Muqaddasi, 150, one should read (as printed) الفغونية *al-Faghniya.* This place, which lay half-way between Malaṭiya and Ḥisn Ziyād (Kharput), has nothing to do with our text and corresponds in I. Hauqal, 131 (ed. Kramers, I, 196) to " the village called al-Ḥammām ". In fact, Marquart, *Südarmenien*, 1930, p. 248, has shown that *Faghūniya* must represent the Old Armenian *baghanikʿ*, which exactly means " a bathing place ".

On the other hand, some strange name resembling وريمان appears in the " History of the Seljuks of Rūm " by Ibn-Bībī, ed. Houtsma, p. 292. Speaking of the movements of the sultan Rukn al-din in 655/1257, the author says that he spent some time " in the neighbourhood of Kāt, Zīle, Bārīmūn ( باريمون ) and Qaz-ova ". All these places seem to be situated in the region of Toqat, to the east of the Qïzïl-ïrmaq, which separated Cappadocia (in the east) from Paphlagonia (in the west). The identity of Bārīmūn is still disputed (Wittek, Jerphanion, Grégoire), see Jerphanion, *Orientalia Christiana*, II, 1936, No. 1-2, p. 264, and I quote it only on account of its external similarity with *W.rīmān.* Our § 20 still presents matter for reflection.

*G.*—P. 111 : *Sūrāb*

During the war of the Būyids Bakhtiyār and ʿAḍud al-daula (in 366/917, see Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 367), the former was entrenched behind the canal called Sūrāb, while the latter was operating near Rām-Hormuz. From the Sūrāb Bakhtiyār retreated to Sūq al-Ahwāz. Apparently, this canal was situated between Rām-Hormuz and Ahwāz. It seems then that this Sūrāb was different from Muqaddasi's *Wādī al-milḥ* which lay beyond Rām-Hurmuz.

*16 November 1954.*

# ADDENDA

*A.*—P. 13, line 4, and p. 15, line 26: *Sandābīl.*

From the distinguished Cambridge scholar, Dr. J. Needham, who combines his great competence in biology with scholarship in Chinese, I hear of an interesting theory advanced by Ts'en Chung-Mien in an article entitled (in translation) "Medieval mistakes about the capital of China [Sandabil] and the use of water-power there (with an Appendix on the Great Buddha Temple at Shantan)", see *Tung Fang Tsa Ch'ih*, 1945, XLI, No. 17, p. 39.

So far insufficient attention has been paid to the passage in Abū-Dulaf's *risāla* No. 1 in which he describes the elaborate system of water-works in the capital of "China", which he claims to have visited. The water ran along the top of the town-walls and divided into sixty branches. Each of these supplied water to one of the sixty streets of the town, and beyond the centre of the town served as a sewer. Thus each street had one rill of fresh water and one carrying the sewage away.

The interesting fact is that such an arrangement seems to have existed in the ancient town of Shan-tan, situated at 60 kms. to the east of Kan-chou, and Dr. Needham, who visited it himself, confirms that "the conduits, down-flumes and noria emplacement" can be still seen in Shan-tan.

Marquart had identified Abū-Dulaf's *S.ndābīl* with Kan-chou, but, in the light of the new discovery, one could place it more exactly at the neighbouring Shan-tan.

The correct description of the water-works of Shan-tan makes it likely that Abū-Dulaf got as far as that town, and we have to presume that the Sarī-Uyghur khans of Kan-su had their administrative centre at Shan-tan. Perhaps in the first part of the name spelt *S.ndābīl* we might recognise the elements of the name Shan-tan. On the other hand, even a good description of Shan-tan does not improve in the least the chances of Abū-Dulaf's veracity as regards his further journey among the Turks, in Malaya and India (see above, p. 16).

*B.*—P. 44, line 29: *al-Radd wal-Birāw.*

Under *Māsabadhān* (IV, 393) Yāqūt quotes Abū-Dulaf as follows: "And from this town to al-Radhdh, spelt with an *r*, there is a number of farsakhs, and in it is located the tomb of Mahdi of which no trace remains ..." Although Yāqūt's reading (الرذ بالراء) eliminates the embarrassment of the *second* part of the name, his interpretation remains only a personal guess, for the unusual name has survived both in Masʿūdī and in the Mashhad MS. of Abū-Dulaf. In Hilāl al-Ṣābī's *Kitāb al-wuzarā*, ed. Amedroz, 66, I further find the quotation: زكريا بن يحيى بن شاذان عرض خرجا فى أمر قطيعة براو (كذا) المباركة ... فكان حاصل براو (كذا) المباركة مما بيع مصابرة ونسبت إلى القطيعة

*Stones*—for smelting—Bistam, Jurjan, Urmiya.

*Sulphur*—Araxes, Arivajan, Damavand, Dauraq, Hulwan.

*Tutty*—Bajunays, Hizan.

GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL PHENOMENA :

*Caves*—Damavand, Hulwan, Tiflis.

*Earthquakes*—Idhaj.

*Lakes*—Abu-Ayyub, Armenia, Madharan, Rayy, Urmiya.

*Landslide*—Suqan (?).

*Rains*—" Khwarazm " desert.

*Whirlpool*—Fam al-bawwab.

*Winds*—Damavand, Damghan, Madharan, Vima.

NATURAL PRODUCTS :

*Pānidh*—Fam al-bawwab.

*Petroleum*—Bakuya, Khaniqin.

*Sugar-cane*—Fam al-bawwab, Tabaristan.

PESTS :

Dauraq, Isfahan (freedom from).

*Flies*—Araxes, Bistam.

*Scorpions*—Shahrazur.

*Snakes*—Bistam, Jurjan.

POPULATION :

*Christians*—Armenia, Hulwan.

*Kurds*—Hadhbani, Sarmaj, Shahrazur.

RIVERS AND SPRINGS :

*Bitter and sour*—Bistam, Lake Urmiya.

*Blood (of)*—Qaryat al-Jammalin.

*Boracic*—Isfanduya, Zaravan.

*Petrifying*—Shiz, Tarm, Lake Urmiya.

*Thousand springs*—Valashgird.

*Diphtheria*—Zaravand.

*Discharges from the womb*—Tarm.

*Elephantiasis*—Armenia.

*Fattening* (sulphur)—Araxes.

*Fever*—Araxes river, Badhdh.

*Gladdening herb*—Alaran.

*Night-blindness*—Zaravand.

*Provoking Passion*—Nishapur.

*Purging waters*—Armenia, Bandanijin.

*Shortness of breath*—Isfanduya.

*Suppressing love*—Bistam.

*Swollen muscles*—Isfanduya.

*Wounds*, etc.—Tiz-Mukran, Zaravand.

METALS AND MINERALS :

*Alum*—Badhdh, Tarm.

*Antimony*—Damavand.

*Arsenic*—Armenia, Shiz.

*Borax*—Arivajan, Armenia, Isfanduya, Tarm, Zaravand.

*Copper*—Bajunays, Nishapur.

*Emery*—Hamadhan.

*Gold*—Alaran, Damghan, Hamadhan, Isfanduya, Rayy, Shiz, Tabaristan (Khashm).

*Iron*—Isfanduya.

*Iron sulphate*—Arivajan, Cyprus, Damavand, Damghan, Egypt, Hizan, Isfanduya, Kerman, Tabaristan, Tarm.

*Lead*—Alaran, Damavand, Shiz.

*Magnesium*—Bajunays, Bistam.

*Marcassite*—Armenia, Namravar.

*Mardasanj* (dross of iron)—Alran, Damavand (*murtak*), Tabaristan.

*Murtak*—see *mardasanj*.

*Quicksilver*—Shiz.

*Salts*—Arivajan, Bajunays, Ram-Hormuz, Urmiya (like tutty).

*Silver*—Rayy, Shiz.

*Stones* (various)—Alaran (opaque), Shiz (amethyst).

*Silk*—Jurjan, Simnan (veils).

*Perfume*—Bistam, Tabaristan.

*Textiles*—Rayy.

*Wine*—Bistam.

FRUIT :

Jurjan, Qasran.

*Apples*—Bistam, Damghan, Isfahan.

*Apricots*—Herat.

*Figs*—Hulwan (*shah-anjir*).

*Grapes* (*sunaya*)—Karkh-Juddan.

*Olives*—Araxes.

*Pomegranates*—Araxes, Hulwan.

*Quinces*—Nishapur.

*Raisins*—Araxes, Herat.

HERBS AND PLANTS :

*Afsintin*—Armenia.

*Aftimun*—Armenia.

*Cabbage*—Armenia.

*Hyacinth*—Armenia.

*Istukhudhus*—Armenia.

*Lavender*—Armenia.

*Mandrake*—Alaran.

*Polo-sticks*—Nihavand.

*Qaquli*—Idhaj.

*Rhododendron*—Hulwan.

*Rhubarb*—Nishapur.

*Wormwood*—Armenia.

*Zalm*—Shahrazur.

DISEASES AND TREATMENT :

*Alopecia*—Alaran (insects).

*Asses' sores*—Tarm.

*Burns*—Badhdh.

*Calculi*—Alaran.

# ANNEX

## *Subject Matters*

BUILDINGS :

Damāvand, Dastajird-Kasraviya, Karaj (Abī-Dulaf), Kitchen of Chosroes, Nishāpūr (Ṭāhirid), Qarmīsīn, Rām-Hurmuz, Rayy, Samīrān, Sirvan, Tustar.

*Ancient towns*—Dauraq, Hamadhan, Rayy.

*Arches*—Cupper's Arch.

*Bridges*—Idhaj, Khaniqin, Qantarat al-Nuʿman, Sumayra, Suq al-Ahwaz, Tirhan, Tustar.

*Castles*—Armenia (on a lake), Ask, Bistam, Madharan, Marj al-qalʿa, Qasr al-jiss, Qasr al-lusus, Rayy, Tus (Tubbaʿ).

*Citadel*—Nihāvand.

*Dome*—Ask.

*Fire-temples*—Hindijan, Idhaj, Shiz.

*Inscriptions* (Pahlavi)—Ask.

*Mosques*—Qasr al-lusus, Suq al-Ahwaz, Tazar.

*Palaces*—Hulwan, Qasr-i Shirin.

*Platform*—Abu-Ayyub.

*Porticos*—Ask, Madhrustan, Tazar.

*Prison*—Jilabadh.

*Sardabs*—Qumm.

*Sculptures*—Shabdiz, Sumayra.

*Sepulchres*—Hindijan, Mahdi's tomb at Radd.

*Shadhurvan*—Tustar.

*Syphon*—Abu-Ayyub.

*Talisman*—Nihavand.

*Tomb* (Mahdi's)—Radd.

*Water-mills*—Tiflis.

*Weir*—Qaryat al-Jammalin.

FABRICATED PRODUCTS :

*Clothes*—Tabaristan.

*Kerchiefs*—Simnan, Tabaristan.

but possibly that the bridge (for some reasons) became known as "Khurrazādh's bridge". Khurrazādh (see Justi, *l.c.*) is attested only as a male name, and by a very strange coincidence we hear of a chief called خرزاد بن باس, *i.e.* Khurzād (Khurrazādh) b. Bās, who revolted in Īdhaj at the time of Ḥajjāj. The latter sent against him one of his officers but "Khurzād fortified himself in the fortress known after him (تعرف به)", see Balādhuri, 381, *cf.* Schwarz, 863 (who first drew attention to this fact). In the light of this curious report, we might perhaps assume that the bridge too, in later times, became somehow associated with the memory of the chief who mutinied in the early eighth century. Such an explanation would spare us the difficult task of identifying the names خوراذام *Khwarādhām* (feminine) with خرّزاد *Khurrazādh* (male).

On the Misma'ī clan of Basra, see Yāqūt, *Musāmi'a*, IV, 523 (quoting Sam'ānī, fol. 530b.). The person who destroyed the bridge was perhaps 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Misma'ī who in 295/907–8 revolted against the caliph in Isfahan, I. Athīr VIII, 9. He may have done so to impede the advance of the caliph's army under Badr al-Ḥammāmī along the highroad through Mālamīr.

Neither Yāqūt, nor Qazwīnī adds any explanation on the identity of the vazir of the "Būyid Hasan" (*i.e.* Rukn al-daula). His famous vazir was Abul-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ābdillāh al-Ḥusayn (al-'Amīd) b. Muḥammad al-Kātib, see I. Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 707 (de Slane's translation III, 256), and Amedroz in *Der Islam*, III/4, 1912, pp. 323–51. Abul-Faḍl had inherited the title *al-'Amīd* from his father. His own *nisba* is unknown but in 328/939 he succeeded the vazir called Abū 'Alī al-Qummī (not in Ibn al-Athīr). This predecessor's *nisba* would not suffice to cover the discrepancy of his name with that quoted in our source. One might rather imagine that "Abū-'Abdillāh" Muḥammad was the father of 'Abdullah al-Ḥusayn, father of Abul Faḍl. This, however, would be a mere surmise for we know nothing of Abul-Faḍl's grandfather. We cannot say whether Abū-Dulaf has made a useful addition to the list of Rukn al-daula's vazirs, or whether the name he mentioned is but an inaccurate combination of the other names quoted above.

should be sought over "the bed of the mountain-torrent ... which skirts the edge of the ruins (of Mālamīr)". But Rawlinson did not visit Mālamīr. Layard, p. 80, who was on the spot, found no place in Mālamīr "for so stupendous a structure as that bridge", because the defile of Mālamīr is too narrow and the torrent too insignificant. However, Layard does not seem to have properly appraised Yāqūt's text which positively refers to the bridge as standing over a dry river-bed. A later traveller, Houtum-Schindler, who explored the roads leading to, and beyond Mālamīr, *Zeitschr. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, 1879, p. 47, confirms that he found no traces of a bridge in Mālamīr. The fact, however, is that the bridge (§ 63) stood between Isfahān and Īdhaj. It is also notable that the workmen conscripted to repair the bridge came from these two places. Therefore, the ruins should be sought to the *east* of Mālamīr along the so-called "road to the Atābeks" running to Isfahan. This road is certainly much more ancient than the time of the atābeks of the Great Lur (see Minorsky in *E.I.*) and its importance is attested by the remains of stone pavements and other structures in many places (see de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, II, 20, 36–40, H. Schindler, 1871). This road ran north of the lake situated in the north-eastern corner of the Mālamīr plain, crossed the Kārūn (south of Sūsan) and then a number of the tributaries of the upper Kārūn, see maps in H. Schindler, *l.c.* and Haussknecht, *Routen in Orient*, 1882 [1].

The various references to the bridge are too circumstantial to be imaginary and the details of its construction point to Sasanian times. The name of the bridge is more equivocal than appears at first sight. According to Abū-Dulaf, the princess already mentioned was the builder of "the bridge known as Khurrazādh's bridge". This does *not* necessarily mean that Khurrazādh was the name of the princess

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[1] For a time I was tempted to identify the bridge with *Pul-i burīda* "the broken bridge", the ruins of which are to be seen near the southern approaches to Mālamīr, where the roads from Shūshtar and Rām-Hurmuz meet. H. Schindler, p. 44, thought that probably ("wahrscheinlich") a caravansarai marked this junction. However, this bridge used to span a stream called *Tund-āb* ("Rapid stream") and, secondly, its geographical position would not tally with the direct indication of our § 63.

Abū-Dulaf's story definitely echoes these events. The queen who murdered the usurper personifies Bōrān. Her "brother" whom the usurper killed is Ardashīr III. "The king of Yemen" is a phantom of Shahr-barāz. Abū-Dulaf did not grasp the complicated character of Shahr-barāz's intervention; he only retained the fact that the usurper came from some far-away place and substituted a figure from a field more familiar to him as a native of south Arabia (*cf.* § 59). The guardsmen who stabbed Shahr-barāz became noble pages. The construction of the bridge by the queen can be compared with Bōrān's orders after her accession. The dignitary who emulated the queen in her building activities must be Mih-Ādhar-Gushnas. This compiicated name is often mutilated in Arabic script. Instead of مهآذرجسنس the *Fārs-nama*, p. 109, spells مهادجشنس and from مهاد a palaeographic passage to قرد is conceivable. Thus Q.rd-Jushnas might be restored: **Mih-Ādhar-Jushnas.* The mysterious name of the princess خوراذام may reflect, in its second part, the name of Āzarm (آزرم), as Āzarmī-dukht is called in Firdausi, Tehran ed. p. 2958. In fact, the stories of the two sisters were sometimes confused, see Sebeos, ch. XXVIII.

Thus, despite the imbroglio of names and details, we seem to recognize the historical background of the story which Abū-Dulaf treats in the typical way in which legends are created. However, there is no finality in such problems and the legend may have incorporated some more ancient elements. The Syriac chronicle of the last Sasanians (discovered by I. Guidi, translated by Nöldeke in *Sitzungsb. Wien. Ak.*, CXXVII, Abt. IX, 1893, 1-48, § 25) in reporting on the rivers of Shushtrē (Shūshtar) says: "one of them bears the name of Adrashiraghan being called after Adrashir (*Ardashīr) who dug it"; of the other two one is called Shemiram after the queen (*sic*) of this name and the other Darighan after Daryāvash (see above, p. 110: Dāriyān).

§ 72. We now return (see § 63) to the story of the bridge near Īdhaj. Through Yāqūt it was known even to Rawlinson (1839) and Layard (1846), *cf.* also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 97, and Schwarz, *l.c.*, 338 (a very detailed survey of sources). No traces of the bridge have yet been found. Rawlinson, 82-3, thought that the bridge

§ 71. The story is of purely Iranian inspiration and the mysterious name *Ardashīr* may be a clue to it. There were three kings of this name in the Sasanian dynasty but only Ardashīr III would fit into the troublous background of our story. In A.D. 628 Khusrau-Aparvēz, the last great Sasanian king, was murdered by his son Shērōya who also destroyed his brothers. The parricide ruled only seven months and after his death the courtiers proclaimed his infant son Ardashīr III (1) who was only seven years old. The *khwān-sālār* ("Master of the royal table") Mih-Ādhar-Gushnas was appointed regent and proved an able ruler. However, the famous general Shahr-barāz, the conqueror of Jerusalem in 614, was annoyed by the decisions taken without his participation. From the Byzantine frontier where he was stationed (2) he marched on the capital and, at his behest, the infant king and the regent were put to death (April 630). Shahr-barāz himself ascended the throne and, according to Sebeos (ch. XXVIII, transl. Macler, p. 89) married the royal princess Bōrān, daughter of Khusrau-Aparvēz. Six weeks later Shahr-barāz was murdered by conspirators led by Pus-Farrūkh, a gentleman from Istakhr who was serving in the guards. Bōrān was proclaimed queen and she appointed Pus-Farrūkh to be her vazir (3). She was a clever queen and on her accession gave orders "to repair bridges and weirs". After a few months Bōrān died in 631 and was succeeded by her beautiful sister Āzarmīdukht. The new queen's pride was offended by the attentions of the sipahbadh Farrukh-Hurmizd (in Armenian sources: *Khorrokh-Ormizd*) for he was not of royal blood (4). She made a *rendez-vous* with him at night and in the meantime instructed the guards to behead him on his arrival. The son of the sipahbadh arrived with an army and put Āzarmīdukht to death.

(1) "Ardashīr, son of the Roman Anzōya", as stated in the Syrian Chronicle discovered by Guidi, § 17.

(2) Tabari I, 1061-2. According to the Armenian historian Sebeos he was in Alexandria. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 102, says that he told the story of Shahrbarāz in his book *Maqātil fursān al-ʿAjam*.

(3) The Persian version of Tabari by Balʿamī (ch. L-LI) logically associates Bōrān with the conspirators. Zotenberg's transl., II, 348.

(4) This family was connected with Azarbayjan. See Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*,

103 : خرّهرمز الأذرى

2 stages from Arrajān, on the road to Rām-Hurmuz, Muqaddasi, 453, mentions a دهليزان *Dahlīzān* which might be a disguise of هنديجان Hindījān ?

§ 70. The description of Shushtar is completed in this paragraph which has been inserted out of place. Both § 65 and § 70 reflect an indiscriminate use of two different sources and do not look as being based on Abū-Dulaf's own experience. It is true that a tomb of Daniel exists to this day on the river Shā'ūr (ancient *Ulai*) at Shūsh (*τὰ Σοῦσα*), but according to Rawlinson, 83, some tomb of "the greater Daniel" was shown at Sūsan on the Kārūn above Shūshtar.

In Iranian matters Abū-Dulaf is often remiss. Both the personal names and the details of the stories told in § 70 and 72 need an ample commentary.

The name of the alleged builder of Shūshtar Q.rd-Jushnas b. Shāh-mard is suspect. It is not in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*. The name of his sister is still more puzzling. In § 70 it is spelt خوراذام *Khwarādhām* and in § 72 the princess is described as the builder of the bridge "known as Khurrazādh's bridge". We shall see that this passage hardly suggests that the bearers of the names Khwarādhām and Khurrazādh are identical. If Khurrazādh (a comparatively easy name) was the correct reading in both cases, why did the scribe have some difficulty the first time (§ 68) ? In § 70 the lady calls herself queen and daughter of Iranian kings. This in fact is the basic feature without which the story collapses. How in these conditions could Khwarādhām be the sister of Q.rd-Jushnas who was only a nobleman (*min 'uẓamā' al-Furs*) ?

On the other hand, there is no doubt that some term of relationship should be inserted between *Khawarādhām* and *Ardashīr* which comes immediately after it. Both Yāqūt and (probably following him) Qazwīnī have inserted *umm* "mother of Ardashīr", which is a mere surmise explaining nothing. As the text stands, one should rather insert *ukht* "sister" for the queen's brother was killed by the usurper (§ 71). The fact that Khawarādhām is called *sister* of Q.rd-Jushnas (which is impossible as we have shown) may be an indirect pointer to the word *sister* which has got into the wrong place.

This would indicate a more easterly position for Āsk. Curiously enough Abū-Dulaf, who is so interested in marvels, does not mention the volcano [1]. The name *Āsk*, known elsewhere, may be a dialectal form of Persian *āhū* "antelope" (*cf.* Kurdish *āsk*).

After, "Qubādh" Yaqut adds "father of Anūshirvān", which confirms our commentary on § 67.

§ 69. See Yaqut IV, 993. It would be tempting to identify Hindījān with the present-day Hindiyān which lies on the road running straight south from Dehe-Mollā (see § 68) towards the Persian Gulf, some 20 miles above the mouth of the Hindiyān river. In that case, the southernmost point of Abū-Dulaf's journey would be reached at this point and the presumption would be that he sailed from thence by sea to Basra, or some other place in the Gulf.

However, the indication that Hindījān lay "between Āsk and Arrajān" suggests some different position (see § 68). We have to remember that the Indians so often mentioned in connection with Khuzistan were the Ẓuṭṭ (Jats); therefore our Hindījān might refer to a special district inhabited by these people: *Ḥaumat al-Ẓuṭṭ.* Ibn Khurdādhbih, 43, and I. Rusta, 189, place it on the way from Arrajān to Rām-Hurmuz, but Istakhri, 94, couples al-Ẓuṭṭ with al-Khābarān, which is usually quoted on the road from Arrajān to Ahwāz. This road naturally ran to the S.W. of the first-mentioned road, *cf.* Schwarz, 345. This indication fits better the conditions of our § 69. But if the river Hindiyān was named after the Zuṭṭ Indians, the supplementary condition would be to look for al-Zuṭṭ on that river (upstream from Āsk ?). Qazwini II, 186, speaks separately of Hindījān (antiquities, after Abū-Dulaf) and Hindiyān where there is a pit from which smoke rises. This detail seems to be connected with the description of Āsk (§ 68). The number of roads branching out from Arrajān (which stood north of Behbehān at the crossing of the Mārān river, a left tributary of the Jarrāḥī) makes any closer identification of Abū-Dulaf's Hindījān difficult. At a distance of

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[1] Are the "*fire*-temples" of Hindījān (§ 69), a trace of the inextinguishable fire near Āsk, misunderstood by Abū-Dulaf ?

according to the recent maps receives a considerable amount of water through the canals Māliḥ and Bahmī which seems to be seepages of the Kārūn water. The river of Fallāḥiya now joins the Kārūn above Muḥammera, but another outlet Khour-Dauraq flows in the opposite direction, towards Khour-Mūsā (the terminus of the Transiranian railway on the Persian Gulf). On Layard's sketch map (about 1848) accompanying his *Early adventures* the main outlet of the Jarrāḥī is shown as flowing directly south from a point just upstream from the Fallāḥiya. The coastal line seems to have changed very much and it is difficult now to appraise the situation which existed in the 10th century. On the recent maps a considerable separate block of territory adjoining ʿAbbādān (Ābādān) on the east is called Dauraqistān. This may be a pointer to the ancient extension of the district of Dauraq.

No Qubād ibn-Dārā is known but according to Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 242, this complex of names (which he found in Ḥamza, 56, and Yāqūt II, 618) stands for * *Qubād Parādharān-dēs*, i.e. "Qubad the vulture-like", cf. Vullers I, 336*a* and 919*a*. Consequently this is Qubād b. Pērōz (488–531) who is also mentioned in § 68. According to Ṭabarī, this king was the builder of Arrajān and apparently the whole southern zone of Khūzistan was associated with his name.

§ 68. See Yaqut I, 61 (who omits the last sentence). According to Istakhri, 95, Āsk (Āsuk) lay halfway between Arrajān and Dauraq (see § 67). An important point, more or less halfway between Behbehān (south of the ruins of Arrajān) and Fallāhiya (Dauraq), at which several roads cross, is Deh-e Mollā on the Hindiyān river. Istakhri, 92, speaks (from hearsay) of an unextinguishable fire seen on a mountain near Āsk (in the direction of Fars) and thinks that the phenomenon is due to burning petroleum. At some distance to the east of Deh-e Mollā across the river stretches Kūh-e Garreh. The fire might be sought in its neighbourhood. However, Istakhri's indications do not tally with those of Masʿūdī who (*Tanbīh*, 61) speaks of "the volcano of Āsuk in the country of Hindījān (§ 69), that is between *Fars* and Ahwaz", known to many travellers travelling that way

The water-mills are found to-day on the bank of Shūshtar facing the Āb-i Gargar (Masruqān) and it is doubtful whether they ever existed on the "Tustar" river.

The *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar* (written about 1169/1756), p. 12, refers to the Masjid-i jāmiᶜ, which was founded in 254/868 at the time of the caliph al-Muᶜtazz-billāhi and several times rebuilt in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries of the Hijra. The author adds that the popular belief that Imām Riḍā prayed in this mosque should be rejected in view of the chronological inconsistency; he admits only that the Imām (who died on 9 Safar 203/16 August 818) may have prayed at the spot where the mosque was later built. In any case Abu-Dulaf in the 4th century recorded the tradition which eight centuries later was still alive. Moreover, he expressedly attributes to the Imam only the planning of the mosque.

As regards the third river coming from the valley of Sūrāb (probably **Shūrāb* "salt water"), it apparently corresponds to the valley of the left affluent of the Kārūn which joins the latter a considerable distance upstream from Shūshtar on the way to the present-day oil-wells at Masjid-i Sulaymān. On modern maps it is called Āb-i Shūr "Salt water" (cf. Rawlinson, 78: "a salt stream named Shūrish"). Less probably **Shūrāb* is the *Wādī-al-Milḥ* which Muqaddasi, 453, names at two relays (*barīd*) beyond Rām-Hurmuz, on the road to Arrajān (which latter place was reckoned to Fars).

§ 66. Rām-Hurmuz (often contracted: *Rāmiz*) stands in the basin of the river now called Jarrāḥī. According to Ḥamza Isfahānī, 45, *Rām Hurmuz* (*Ardashīr*) was founded by Ardashīr I, but Tabari I, 833, says that its *kūra* was formed under Hurmizd b. Shāpūr. Despite its antiquity no great remains seem to have been noticed by travellers, cf. Schwarz, 333-4, and Minorsky in *E.I.*

After Rām-Hurmuz Abu-Dulaf follows the Jarrāḥī down to Dauraq and thence comes back to the S.E. by the Arrajān road.

§ 67. See Yaqut II, 618, cf. Schwarz, 370-7. Dauraq (older: Surraq) occupied a vast area between the Dujayl (Kārūn) basin and the coast of the Persian Gulf. Its centre must have lain in the region of the present-day Fallāḥiya which is situated on the Jarrāḥī, but

According to Rawlinson, p. 75, the name *shādhurvān* applies to the stone pavement at the bottom of the river on the front side of the town situated between the two streams. This, however, may be inexact for *shādhurvān* (" [of] merry soul") usually applied to such waterworks as fountains and cascades and this would be a proper name for the great dyke itself. Immediately downstream from the Band-i Mīzān a tunnel was opened for a lesser canal (Dāriyān) which crossed the town and supplied it with water (see below, § 70).

This introduction will enable us to follow Abu-Dulaf's description.

A distinction must be made between the "larger" (*aʿẓam*) river, i.e. the Dujayl (Kārūn) itself and the large (*ʿaẓīm*) river "taken out of it". The former is the undivided Dujayl (Karun) and the latter is the larger western channel of the divided river with the famous bridge on it. In fact it only continues the main stream. The eastern branch (Masruqān, Āb-i Gargar) is described both in § 65 and in § 70. It is interesting that the western river is said to flow to Bāsiyān and the sea, whereas the eastern branch is traced only to ʿAskar-Mukram (somewhere east of Band-i Qīr ?). This suggests that the two streams did not unite near Band-i Qīr, as they do now, but flowed on independently. In fact Istakhri, p. 90, in his very accurate account of Khuzistan, says: "I travelled from ʿAskar-Mukram to Ahwāz a distance of 8 farsakhs. We went 6 farsakhs by water and then got out and followed the middle of the river (because) the remaining part of this river to Ahwāz was a dry bed, though none of the water is lost, for it irrigates plantations of sugar-cane, and also palm-groves and fields". Curious too is the passage in Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, I, 382, (transl. IV, 431) in which (under 326/938) it is explained that Ahwāz is *separated* from ʿAskar-Mukram and Tustar, and these latter from Sūs (Shūsh), by branches of the Tigris (read: *Dujayl, i.e. Kārūn).

Abu-Dulaf's statement on the colour of the water in the two channels is supported by Sir A. Layard (*JRGS*, 1846, p. 60) who says that, of the three waters now uniting at Band-i Qīr, the waters of Dizfūl are "very dark" because of the vegetation on its banks; those of the Kārūn are "red" from the soil over which they pass, while those of Āb-i Gargar are "of a milky whiteness". This contrast is especially observed "during the winter and spring floods".

have lain much lower down in Khūzistan. "The Door-Keeper's mouth" is an unexpected name for a whirlpool. I can only think of the description of the Shūshtar river (Kārūn) in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, § 6, 37, where it is said that "past Ahwāz, Jubbay and Bāsiyān, it reaches *Dahana-yi shīr* and Ḥiṣn-Mahdī and then flows into the Great Sea". Thus *Dahana-yi shīr* lay close to the estuary of the river. The name means "The Lion's mouth" (which would give in Arabic **Fam al-asad*). The rumour of the existence of such a place may have given rise to Abu-Dulaf's fantastic story. The Dujayl (Kārūn) did not originally join the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab [1] but had a separate outlet, possibly through the present-day canal Bahamshīr flowing to the east of the island ʿAbbādān (Ābādān). The *Dahana-yi shīr* (cf. the name *Bahamshīr*, whatever its origin) was possibly situated at the place where the Dujayl flowing towards the S.W. suddenly changed its course for S. or even S.E.

§ 65. *Sūq al-ahwāz*, the "(chief) market-place of the Hūz, or Khūz", is strictly speaking the name of the present-day town of Ahwāz, but I. Khurdādhbih, 42, uses it as the name of one of the seven districts of Khūzistān (cf. Tabari 1/5, 2550). This district comprised the lands along the banks of the Dujayl (Kārūn).

At Shūshtar (in Arabic: *Tustar*, with a dissimilation similar to *Shāsh-kand*>*Tāshkend*) the waters of this river were split into two branches: the western Tustar river and the eastern Masruqān. The waters were regulated by two dykes. The major dyke (Band-i mīzān) still stands on the Tustar river and supports the famous bridge Pul-i Qaysar, said to have been built by Roman prisoners captured together with the emperor Valerian in A.D. 260; the bridge serves for communication between Shūshtar and the north (Dizfūl). The eastern dyke on the Masruqān canal (Āb-i Gargar) stood slightly above the bridge which serves for the communications of Shūshtar with the south-east (Rām-Hormuz etc.).

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[1] The present-day outlet (Ḥaffār) of the Karun into the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is said to be the result of a canal dug under the Būyid ʿAḍud al-daula.

Lur-i buzurg, see Minorsky in *E. I.* Īdhaj lay on the road from Isfahan to Ahwāz, in the hilly country south of the middle Kārūn, see Layard, "Description of Khúzistán", *JRGS*, 1846, XVI, 80; Jéquier, "Description du site de Mâlamîr", Délégation en Perse, *Mémoires*, III/1, pp. 133-43, and a good sketch map in Sir A. Stein, "Old routes of Western Iran", 1940, p. 127.

The fire-temple to which Abu-Dulaf refers may be the interesting Parthian sanctuary of Shāmī (immediately north of Mālamīr) which was discovered in 1934 and in which ashes and remains of charred wood were found, see Sir A. Stein, *l. c.*, 141-59.

The question of the bridge is complicated by some uncertainty in our text. In § 63 Abu-Dulaf speaks of a bridge between Isfahan and Īdhaj. In § 71 he refers to the bridge "known as the bridge of Khurrazādh" and situated between Īdhaj and Rabāṭ, the position of the latter place being unknown. In each of the two passages the bridge is described as a marvel and is said to span a dry river-bed. In general Abū-Dulaf often develops a subject in special paragraphs forming appendices to the main text. It seems then that the same bridge is meant in both passages. Qazwini II, 210, speaks of Khurrazādh's bridge under Īdhaj, whereas Yaqut devotes a special paragraph to it, IV, 189. Schwarz, *l.c.*, 338-9, has given a detailed survey of the sources but the unnoticed fact is that in his § 63 Abu-Dulaf places the bridge on the Isfahān—Īdhaj road. We shall discuss the point under § 72.

§ 64. Yaqut and Z. Qazwini, following Abu-Dulaf's text, include the record of Fam al-Bawwāb in their articles on Īdhaj, but there are grave suspicions about its correct position in the narrative, see § 63. In fact no bearings on Baṣra would be taken from such a remote place as Mālamīr. In the second part of the paragraph the reference to the collection of the *kharāj* "before" the Naurūz suggests a hot climate and very early crops, for no collection of *kharāj* was practical before the harvest. Any reference to tides in the highlands of Īdhaj would be equally out of place. The climate of Īdhaj, whence, according to Yaqut, snow used to be carried to the torrid Ahwāz, excludes the idea of growing sugar-cane. For all these reasons, the locality of § 64 must

ʿAbd al-Malik, and of the latter's son Tubbaʿ al-aqrān see Dīnawarī, 26–31, Tabari I, 440 (I. Athir I, 118), and Ḥamza, 114–39 (1). Shammar is said to have destroyed Samarqand. The echoes of these legends persisted in later times. Aṣmaʿī imagined that there was a Himyarite inscription on the gate of Samarqand, see I. Faqīh, 326, Istakhri, 318 (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 87).

The same local patriotism explains the reference to Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur. Yaqut III, 560 (Ṭūs), quotes Abu-Dulaf's passage and in IV, 342 (under *Lāʿa*) refers to Asʿad a second time saying that in 340/951 he expelled a Fāṭimid propagandist from Jabal al-Ṣabr (in the Yemen). There is no indication of Asʿad having had any connection with Khorasan and his name is probably brought in only in view of his notoriety in Abū-Dulaf's country.

§ 60. Nīshāpūr comes at this place probably on Abu-Dulaf's way back to the west. The rhubarb weighing 50 maunds and quinces weighing 420 dirhams remain on his responsibility (cf. § 8 on the mandrake of * Vālārān). One mann (of 2 raṭls) according to Nawāwī weighed 794·5 grams, or according to Rāfiʿī, 803·3 grams, see Sauvaire in *Jour. As.*, 1885, V, 502. Therefore, a branch of rhubarb in Nishapur would weigh approximately 40 kilograms ! A quince of 420 dirhams (at 1 dirham=3.148 grams) would weigh approximately 1·3 klg.

§ 61. The reference to Herat is apparently based on hearsay.

§ 62. On the contrary, the lively and appreciative account of Isfahan (quoted by Yaqut I, 293, and Z. Qazwini II, 196) is a proof of personal acquaintance with this town from which the author started on a journey to Khūzistān.

§ 63 is quoted anonymously in Yaqut I, 416, and Qazwini II, 201. The ruins of Īdhaj (**Edhaj* ?) lie near the present-day Mālamīr. Nearby are situated several groups of ancient Elamite bas-reliefs. In the 12th-15th centuries Īdhaj was the capital of the principality of

(1) The popular etymology connecting Tubbat (Tibet) with the Tubbaʿ see *Murūj*, I, 350–2, accounts for the stories about the great campaigns of the Tubbaʿ.

Bujnūrd) [1], see the learned note by M. Qazvīnī in his edition of *Jahān-gushāy*, III, 425-8. The present pronunciation is *Shughān* or *Shūghān*, but the name was often mis-spelt (*N.fāq*, *Bāsqāq*, etc.) and the passage in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 197, indicates that it was mis-read as *Shaqqān (as a derivation from Arabic *shaqq* "cleft"). Shuqān was a district of some 20 villages (*Nuzhat*, 150) and various stories were current about its mountains, see Z. Qazwini, *'Ajā'ib*, 165 (curiously mis-translated in *Nuzhat*, 197), although no other record of the catastrophe described by Abu-Dulaf seems to exist. The clouds of *red* sand which the hurricane carried may one day help to establish the identity of *As.s.qān* with *Shuqān. For the moment there is another indirect hint in favour of my surmise. A quarter of a century after Abu-Dulaf, Avicenna travelled in the same region in the opposite direction. In his autobiography (see Ibn Abī-Uṣaybi'a, II, 4) he says that having left the court of 'Ali b. Ma'mūn (387-90/997-1000) in Khwārazm he went to Tūs, Bāvard, *Shuqān, *Simalqān, Jājarm "which is the frontier (*ra's al-ḥadd*) of Khorasan, and finally to Jurjān where he hoped to join King Qābūs, but at this moment the latter was captured and imprisoned (403/1012). The philosopher mentions Shuqān but not Isfīnāqān.

§ 59. On Tūs see Minorsky, in *E.I.* Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā'ī was the son of a well-known Umayyad general (under Marwān b. Muḥammad). Ya'qūbī in his *History* mentions Ḥumayd several times and says (p. 439) that, in view of some disappointment, he went to join Abū-Muslim. Perhaps in this connection he came to Khorasan. Ḥamza Isfahānī, p. 221, mentions him as its governor in 151-9/768-76. See also Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 303 ; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199.

It might appear curious that Imām 'Ali al-Riḍā's name is followed by the usual blessings, whereas "Rashīd" is named without any honorifics, but this is also the case with the Imām 'Ali al-Riḍā in § 65.

As a native of Yanbu', Abu-Dulaf is only too willing to connect local antiquities with south-Arabian lore (cf. § 70). On the legendary campaigns in China and Tibet of Shammar b. Afrīqīs, of his son

[1] Immediately north of Sankhās.

§ 55. See Yaqut II, 529. The river of Dāmghān drains the waters of the long valleys of Chahārdeh and Fūlād-maḥalla. Instead of *F.njār* (Yaqut: *Gh.njān*) one should read **Finjān*, "a water-clock", i.e. a contraption for measuring the amount of water for irrigation, see Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 150. Yaqut visited Dāmghān in 613/1216: "but I did not find anything of what (Abū-Dulaf) mentioned, because I did not stay at the place", as he says compassionately.

§ 56. See Yaqut I, 623, with his own remarks. The ascetic Abū-Yazīd Ṭayfūr b. ʿĪsā b. Ādam b. Surūshān Bisṭāmī died in 261/874 or in 264/877, see Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, I, 662, and Farīd al-dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, I, 134.

Bisṭām (derived from the old personal name *Vistakhma*) is not mentioned in the Pahlavi Book of Iranian towns, ed. by Marquart, 1931. A couple of km. to the south of Bisṭām and nearer to the Khorasan highway lies Shāhrūd which is a later foundation not mentioned in the 10th century geographers.

§ 57. In fact the valleys converging on Bisṭām make it a turning-point for travellers to Khorasan, Gurgān and Tabaristan. The site of Gurgān, now lying in ruins, is marked by the famous tower of the Ziyārid Qābūs.

§ 58. Palaeographically the nearest parallel to *As.s.qān* might be Isfīnaqān which Muqaddasi, p. 300, note 1 (MS. C.) quotes as a dependency of Nisā; cf. *Sipīnākan in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, § 23, 8, and p. 325. The position of this place is unknown but the fact that it came under Nisā makes it difficult to fit it into Abu-Dulaf's itinerary. Travelling from Jurjān to Nīshāpūr he must have followed the northern foot of the Khorasanian mountains, a rich park-land open northwards, which he abusively calls "the desert (steppe?) of Khwārazm", and then re-crossed the Caspian watershed into the basin of the Jājarm river which flows to the north of the Nīshāpūr plain. Among the dependencies of Jājarm was a borough **Shuqān* which still exists (12 farsakhs N.E. of Jājarm and 9 farsakhs S.W. of

Local rulers in Tabaristan kept up old Iranian traditions. As late as 411/1020 the Bāvandid Muḥammad ibn Vandarīn used Pahlavi for an inscription on the tower of Rādkān.

§ 53. On his map showing the road Semnān-Dāmghān, A. F. Stahl marks a small gorge in the mountains inscribed " Giftenge ", *i.e.* " poisonous gorge ", but omits to describe it in the accompanying text or to give its name in Persian. This gorge lies 40 km. to the west of Dāmghān and immediately to the north of the larger gorge of Darvār, see *Peterm. Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft No. 118, 1896, map I. Consequently, Abu-Dulaf's wonder-tale may contain some grain of reality and refer to poisonous gases in the valley. Mādarān (in contradistinction to the homonymous place in § 38) seems to be unknown to other independent geographers [1]. Yaqut II, 539, and Z. Qazwini, II, 245, only reproduce our passage. Qazwini II, 239, 270, also speaks of a spring Bād-khānī (not *khāna*), 5 farsakhs distant from Dāmghān: should any impurity be thrown into it, a storm breaks out immediately (cf. also *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 277). The two reports can hardly refer to the same place. I. Faqīh, 310, speaks of a platform (*dukkān*) in the neighbourhood of al-Ṭāq which has the same peculiarity as *Bād-khānī*. (On Tāq cf. Herzfeld, *ZDMG*, 1926, p. 279). Numerous European travellers heard of various springs similar to Bād-khānī, see R. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristans*, in *Islamica* III/1, 1927, p. 102, but Stahl's " Giftenge " seems to be the nearest parallel to Abū-Dulaf's wonder-tale.

§ 54. Abū-Dulaf comes back to Semnān to describe the towns along the road. Yaqut gives his own description of Semnān. Muqaddasi, 367, confirms the high price paid for the woollen kerchiefs of Qūmis (sometimes up to 2000 dirhams for a kerchief).

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[1] Could it be a confusion with مورجان ? Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 49, applies the name to the whole range stretching between Qūmis (i.e. the region of Simnān, Dāmghān ann Bisṭām) and Nīshāpūr. However, Ibn Rusta, who knows the road very well, says, p. 170, that Mūrjān was a fortified village situated at 26 farsakhs *beyond* Dāmghān and at 8 farsakhs from Hafdar situated further along the road. (According to the *Tanbih*, 45, Khorasan began at " Haftdara ".

is unknown, cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, Table D, and Rabino, *Les dynasties alaouides*, J.A., 1927, April, p. 255-61. The sympathetic appreciation of the Alids' rule might be a token of some shī'ite leanings of our author (cf. §§ 59, 65) but even Tabari, iii, 2292, admits that there was never a ruler as just as Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh. On the other hand, Biruni, *Chronology*, 224, blames him for having destroyed the ancient communal institutions dating back to the legendary Farīdūn and restored "the participation of the rebels with the common people in the government (الاشتراك المردة مع الناس فى الكدخدائية).

Of Khashm Abu-Dulaf speaks from hearsay. According to Muqaddasi, 360, Khashm was the residence of the 'Alid ruler (al-dā'ī) with a cathedral mosque, a market-place and a bridge. Technically it lay in Gīlān and not in Tabaristan.

A more detailed list of products is given in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, § 32, 9 and 12 (perfumed toilet waters in Sārī).

The reference to the activities of the astronomers in Tabaristan is curious. In fact several astronomers were known by the nisba "Ṭabari": 'Omar b. al-Farrukhān who according to H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, 1900, No. 13, must have died about 200/815; his son Muḥammad b. 'Omar, see *l.c.*, No. 34; Sahl Rabban, about 170-230/786-845, and his son 'Ali b. Sahl "the teacher of Abū-Bakr al-Rāzī", see *l.c.*, No. 25; Vījān b. Rustam al-Kūhī (al-Ṭabari) who was attached to the courts of the Būyids 'Aḍud al-daula and Sharaf al-daula; for the latter he carried out a series of observations in 378/988, *l.c.*, No. 175. Cf. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science* I, 665. To their number must be added Kiyā Kūshyār b. Labbān b. Bāshahri al-Jīlī, a native of Gīlān whose activities fall within the period 342-83/953-93, see *l.c.*, No. 192, and notes to the *Chahār-maqāla*, p. 202 [1]. We cannot say to which contemporary scholars Abu-Dulaf refers, but it is certain that there existed some tradition of astronomical studies in the Caspian provinces.

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[1] Ibn-Isfandiyār, 137 (transl. 87) mentions also: Auḥad al-dahr al-Dānishī, author of the *Zīj-i Kāmil*, and Bizīst b. Fīrūzān (*alias* Yahyā b. Manṣūr), author of the *Zīj-i Ma'mūnī*, dedicated to the caliph Ma'mūn (198-21/813-33).

only from the bridge of Qum does the peak appear in all its splendour towering above the lower ranges which rise between it and Tehran.

Jawālīqī, ed. Sachau, 140, spells *Murtak* and says that the word is of Persian origin. Fleischer in his additions to Levy, *Chaldisches Wörterbuch*, 31b and 418a, explains *martaqa* as derived from Persian *murtak* "dead" and equates it with *murda-sang* (see § 52) "abgestorbenes Metall, Bleischlacke, Glätte", French "glette, oxide de plomb, litharge employée pour l'affinage de la fonte". Levy, *Neuhebr. und chald. Wörterbuch*, III, 264, gives *martaqa* "eine Mischung von Blei und Silber, oder Silber-und Bleiglätte" and further adds that it was used as "Heilsmittel gegen Unterleibsleiden".

§ 52. The description of Tabaristan is very general. As it appears from § 53, from Rayy Abu-Dulaf followed the highroad to Jurjān.

There were two dynasties of ʿAlids in the Caspian provinces. In 250/864 the Ḥasanid Ḥasan b. Zayd raised the banner of revolt against Muhammed b. ʿAbdullāh b. Ṭāhir who had received from the caliph as an *iqṭāʿ* the region of Kalār and Chālūs and tried to annex the adjoining communal lands, see Ṭabari, III, 1524. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdullāh b. Ṭāhir, who was the ruler of Tabaristan since Ṣafar 237/Aug. 851, was defeated by Sayyid Hasan on 8 Dhul-Hijja 250/10 Jan. 865, after which he retired to Khurasan and abandoned the idea of conquering Tabaristan. "The chronology of Hasan b. Zayd's rule was from that date", says Bahā al-din b. Muhammad b. Hasan b. Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿAbbas Eghbāl 1320/1941, p. 222, 238, 242 (E. G. Browne's transl., pp. 157, 172, 177). See, however, Tabari, III, 1583, on a temporary success of Sulaymān in 251/866. In 287–301/900–13 the Samanids lorded it over Tabaristan, but in 301/913 a new Alid (Husaynid) ruler, Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr (301-4/913-6), ousted the Samanids. He was succeeded by his grandson Ḥasan al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr (d. in 316/919). His brother (?) Abul-Faḍl Jaʿfar al-Thāʾir-fillāhi ruled after him. According to I. Isfandiyār he was proclaimed about 331/943 but the date of his death is unknown. In any case he lived close to the period of Abu-Dulaf's travels. Hādī whom our author inserts between al-Dāʿī and al-Thāʾir

§ 50. The passage on Sūrīn is in Yaqut III, 186, and Qazwini I, 181. Imām Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was killed in Gūzgān in 125/743. The story is characteristic for the strongly shiʿite sympathies of the people of Rayy, see Minorsky, *Raiy* in *E.I.*

Yaqut IV, 105, gives a paraphrase of the paragraph on Qaṣrān. There are several historical examples of refugees taking shelter in it, see I. Athir IX, 284: Fannā-Khusrau, son of Majd al-daula, fled from Maḥmūd of Ghaznī to Qaṣrān *wa hiya ḥaṣīnatun*.

The residence of the Qārinid princes was Firrīm on the western branch of the Tijīn river flowing northwards to Sārī.

The pleasant vale with daffodils may be the high valley of Lār, behind the hills standing above Tehran.

§ 51. See Yaqut III, 315: *Shalamba;* III, 316: *Shalanba.* The form *Shalama* must have been the actual pronunciation of the archaic Shalanba, see Istakhri, 209, but side by side with it the author quotes the traditional *Dunbāvand*, instead of the later *Damāvand.* Shalanba lies some 6 km. south of the town Damāvand on the left bank of its river (a left affluent of the Jājarūd). According to I. Khurdādhbih, 118, Shalanba was the town of Dunbāvand. Yaqut, IV, 944, spells out *Wayma*, i.e. *Vēma* (which in Middle-Persian would mean "rocks"). This town is usually coupled with Shalanba but, according to Yaqut, it lay opposite (*muqābila*) the strong castle of Fīrūzkūh which Yaqut saw and which belonged to Dunbāvand. Our author adds an important detail on the river *Hīr* which separates the two towns. The name should be restored as **Habr* (with dissimilation: *Habl-rūd*, cf. in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, p. 89, now *Habla-rūd*), which confirms Yaqut's statement. Vēma may have lain on the western headwater of the river. The Transiranian railway penetrates into Tabaristan through the eastern valley on which, Fīrūzkūh is situated.

The vivid and realistic description of Mt. Damāvand (cf. Yaqut II 606) seems to be based on personal experience, but the possibility of seeing the great mountain from Marj al-qalʿa (§ 31) is sheer fantasy. Istakhri, 210, says that Dunbāvand can be seen from Sāva. In fact

§ 48. The ruins of Rayy lie about 8 klm. south-south-east of Tehran. To the innumerable descriptions of Rayy Abu-Dulaf adds little, cf. Schwarz, 740-81, and Minorsky, *Raiy* in E.I. Rāfiʿ b. Harthama occupied Rayy in 278-81/891-4, see Tabari 111/4, 2135-41, but after his withdrawal the inhabitants dismantled his fortifications. Ṭabarak is often mentioned in the history of the Buyids, especially at the time of Abu-Dulaf's patron Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād. It was situated "to the right of the road to Khorasan", possibly to the south of the great spur of mountains protruding southwards.

The name of the village Zindān "prison" which is shown at the foot of the hills, some 10 km. east of the ruins of Rayy may be a pointer to the site of the state jail described by Abu-Dulaf. Instead of *Jabal-ābādh* in our text, Yaqut II, 179, gives *Jīl-ābādh*, which must be correct in view of the origin of the founder from Gilan. Mardāvīj مرداويج b. Ziyār appeared on the stage in 315/927 and was murdered in Isfahan in 323/935. The unusual spelling *Mardāvīzh* مرداويژ (cf. § 11 : *Zhanjān*) has led to considerable complications. In Yaqut's *printed* text we find مردوا بن لاشك . This tempted Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 183, 218, to suggest appropriate etymologies : **Murdād* < *Ameretāt*, and *Lāshek* "lean, meagre". In point of fact, Yaqut, embarrassed by the spelling of his original, must have written* مرداواج لا شك "no doubt: Mardāvāj" (with ā for ē). The real etymology of the Daylamite name is *mard-āvēzh* "he who comes to grips with men".

§ 49 (not in Yaqut) represents a personal digression of Abu-Dulaf. The date of his visit to Rayy (before 334/944) is important for his biography. Despite the usual exaggerations, the portraits of the two contemporary capitalists, a Zoroastrian contractor to the army and the landowner Juraysh b. Ahmad (perhaps an Arab ?) are very instructive. Apparently *īghār* was a more privileged (hereditary ?) class of fief, but its distinction from *iqṭāʿ* is still not quite clear, see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, pp. 62, 190 (the drawback of this thesis is that it does not sufficiently account for the historic evolution of institutions).

§ 46. On Qumm see the important *Tārīkh-i Qumm*, ed. by Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn, Tehran 1313/1934 (written in Arabic in 379/988, translated into Persian in 806/1403), which, like all the geographers, states, p. 243, that Qumm was occupied at the time of Ḥajjāj by Arabs led by two brothers ʿAbdullāh and Aḥwaṣ, sons of Saʿd b. Malik b. ʿĀmir al-Ashʿari, see *l.c.*, p. 242. The name Ṭulayḥa does not occur in the history. Yaqut who quotes Abu-Dulaf, writes *Ṭalḥa* instead of *Ṭulayḥa* and adds more details on this family which he connects with the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath in 81/700. See in great detail in Schwarz, pp. 557–68.

§ 47. Yaqut II, 690, and Qazwini II, 248, quote the text under Dayr-Kardashīr (perhaps **Kard-Ardashīr* for the *dayr* is said to have been built by Ardashīr). Istakhri, 229, I. Hauqal, 289, and Muqaddasi, 491, give the distances of one *marḥala* each, between Rayy—Diza—Dayr al-jiṣṣ—Kāj and Qumm, cf. Schwarz, 933–4. Istakhri's description of the place is quite sober: "between Diza and Dayr al-jiṣṣ lies the desert which faces Kargas-kūh and Siyāh-kūh. Dayr al-jiṣṣ is a *rabāṭ* (fortified caravanserai) built of lime and bricks; the government guards (*badhraqat al-sulṭān*) live in it; it is a stage for the travellers; there is no cultivation and no trees in it; there is a well of salt water in this place which cannot be used for drinking; rain-water is kept in the two tanks standing outside this *dayr*: the desert encircles it on both sides". Muqaddasi adds only that the burnt bricks are of the size of very large unburnt bricks, that the place is spacious and convenient and that a man at the gate sells provisions. In Muqaddasi's time the *rabāṭ* was in ruins. These solid facts form useful material for comparison with the fruits of Abu-Dulaf's southern imagination.

As before the 19th century the present-day salt marsh between Tehran and Qumm did not exist, the road followed a straight line and at two-fifths of its distance from Rayy the ruins of a caravanserai are found, just south of, and between two hills; cf. Stahl, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 118, map 1. This is the probable site of Dayr al-jiṣṣ.

is put into the water, it is not quite clear what *sabk al-ḥarāra* means; perhaps the "mould still hot". The nature of the phenomenon is apparently connected with the mineral contents of the water.

§ 44. After Hamadan the description takes a sharp turn to the south and then eastward in a wide sweep towards Rayy. In fact a direct road by-passing the col of Mt. Alvand and Hamadan led from Mādharān (§ 38) to Nihāvand and thence to Central Persia. This was the reason why the decisive battle (of 18 or 19/639-40), in which the Sasanian army was defeated, was fought near Nihāvand (between Isbidhahān and Vāykhurd), see Tabari I, 2615-19.

The story of the talisman is reflected in the name of the head-water of the Ṣaymara (Karkhā) which comes from Nihāvand: Gā-māsī-āb consists of *gā* (dialectal for *gāv* "bull"), *māsī* (dialectal for *māhī* "fish") and *āb* "water".

The story of the Byzantine ambassador, which, as it stands, is pointless, may be connected with memories of Sasanian treasures hidden in the Nihāvand castle and given away by a spy, Balādhuri, 304. Cf. Tabari I, 2421: "Nihāvand where Kisra's treasures are". Hoards of coins have been found near Nihāvand even in our time. In 1907 at Hamadan I bought a gold coin of Nero from a vast collection of Roman coins found near Nihāvand in 1905.

§ 45. This Karaj lay close to the present-day Sulṭān-ābād (Arāg). The small river *Kara*-rūd has preserved the name of *Karaj*. Ancient pottery going by the name of "Sultan-abad" must come from the ruins of Karaj. The statement about the position of Karaj at the crossroads is correct. Even now this old centre lies on the Transiranian trunk line.

As an Arab, Abu-Dulaf was naturally interested in his namesake Abū-Dulaf al-ʿIjlī, the founder of Karaj. His dynasty lasted about 75 years (210-85/825-98). According to I. Rusta, 207, the ancestors of the family were Christians (*ʿibādī*) of Ḥīra and bankers (*jahābidha*) by profession. A considerable number of facts on the later Dulafids, contemporary with the Ṣaffārids, is found in the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 1314/1935, and in the *Tārīkh-i Qumm* (see below). Cf. also *Majālis al-mu'minīn* (lithographed), p. 406.

city. No gold mines seem to be known near Hamadan but washing ancient soil for coins and gold objects is still a profitable occupation for some classes of the inhabitants.

§ 42. With the lack of system typical of our author we are led back to § 36. The story of the lake is quoted by Yaqut under Bā-Ayyūb, I, 437. Abū-Dulaf places the lake at one farsakh beyond (i.e. to the east of) Abū-Ayyūb and adds that its water flows into the river of Daynavar. East of Bīsūtūn the latter joins the Gāmāsī-ab (which flows from the east) and one would imagine that the lake was situated above their confluence. As, however, Abū Ayyūb must be located to the south of the Gāmāsī, it is possible that by the Daynavar river Abu-Dulaf meant the Gāmāsī. In this case the lake must be sought in the same region (perhaps near the village now called Mālāmīrī).

The story about the drowned king is undoubtedly an echo of Bahrām-Gōr's death. Tabari, 1/2, 865: "at the end of his reign Bahrām went to Māh (Media) to hunt there. One day he galloped after a wild ass and in the strenuous pursuit was trapped in a pit (*jubb*) and was drowned. His mother arrived and went to the pit with a large sum of money. She stayed in the neighbourhood of the pit and gave orders to distribute this money to those who would fetch (the body) out of it. They extracted from the pit much mud and mire which formed enormous mounds but they could not find the body of Bahrām". Instead of *jubb* the *Fārs-nāma*, p. 82, uses the word *shūra-āb* "salt-marsh".

The arrangement of the syphon is not quite clear. Is it the river which presses on the outflow of the spring, with the result that the water of the latter rises in the pipes? If our explanation in the previous paragraph is correct, we must identify "the river" with the Gāmāsī. It is possible, however, that Abu-Dulaf has in view the joint stream of the Gāmāsī and the Daynavar rivers. The indication that the combined waters belong to the basin of Karkhā (flowing *close* to, but not through Susa) is correct.

§ 43 ought to follow § 34. Even if we take that not 1000 silver coins but a silver ingot having the value (or weight) of 1000 dirhams

§ 40. As Asadābād is 23 miles distant from Kangāvar, the Kitchen, according to Abu-Dulaf's painstaking indication of the distances, should be places at the present-day Mindarābād (which was identified with Mādharān only in view of the misleading assonance of the names). The Kitchen may correspond to I. Rusta's *Aywān al-ṣanj* "the portico of the cymbal". Shāh-mardān was the first-born son of Shīrīn, see the Syrian chronicle of the last Sasanians, ed. by Guidi, § 5, and the Shāh-nāma, Tehran 1314, p. 2939. He was one of the victims of his half-brother Shīroya when the latter ascended the throne.

Asadābād, which the road left sometimes to its left (I. Rusta), is the well-known borough to the west of the easiest pass in Mt. Alvand. It is probably identical with I. Khordadhbih's Khundādh (*Khunwādh, i.e. *Onoadas* of *Tabula Peutingeriana*, as suggested by Herzfeld).

§ 41. In his long article on Hamadhān, Yaqut IV, 981–92, tells the story of the water drained and then let loose on the city but he attributes the ruse to Bukht-Naṣṣar [1] and his general Saqlab (*sic*). Later, plague ruined the town until it was rebuilt by Dārā b. Dārā. This version is a quotation from I. Faqīh, 218, but then Yaqut admits that "some people of Hamadhān" place the story mentioned above in Dārā's time. The story picked up by Abu-Dulaf must have been circulating on the spot. It is not in Pseudo-Callisthenes, see Pfaffe-Lamprecht, *Alexander*, 1850, II, ch. 19 (cf. *Julius Valerius*, ed. Kubler, p. 103, and in index *sub* Darius) nor in *Alexandri epistula ad Aristotelem*, ed. Kubler. However, to the report that Dara left his womenfolk and children in the fortress (*ḥiṣn*) of Hamadhan Dīnawarī, p. 34, adds: "and it was built by Dārā".

By the "ancient town" of Hamadhān Abu-Dulaf certainly means the huge mound of ancient Ecbatana which towers over the modern

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[1] Nebuchadnezzar, or one of the Parthians? Cf. Tabari I, 649, 651: Bukhtrasha (Bukhtar-shah?) issued from Gūdarz of Isfahan, and Ḥamza, ed. Gottwald, 26 (Berlin, 27): Bukht-Naṣṣar b. Vayū (*Vēv/Gēv) b. Jūdarz. Cf. Christensen, "Les Kayânides", 119. Under the Sasanians the exploits of the Arshakid families were projected into the time of the legendary Kayānians, see Minorsky, *BSOAS* 1946, XI/4, 29.

Valāshgird (an Arsakid name?), according to the description, may be identical with Sarāb-i bīd-i surkh, the term *sarāb* in this case meaning "the source of a stream", usually a system of springs and pools. The name Valāshgird has disappeared from modern maps, but on a sketch map accompanying Rawlinson's memoir in *JRGS*, 1939, a Valāshgird is shown *east* of Kangāvar on the southern way to Hamadan. From it a road branched off to Isfahan. This Valāshgird lay between two rivers, one coming from Asadābād and the other from the south-western face of Alvand. Rawlinson does not describe this part of his journey. Possibly his Valāshgird should be sought near Farsafaj. Provided there is no mistake in § 38, Abu-Dulaf's Valāshgird must be an entirely different place, as it lay *west* of Kangāvar.

Some confusion seems to be reflected in Yaqut IV, 938, who after quoting Abu-Dulaf, mentions an Abū ʿOmar Valāshjirdī who lived in Qasr al-luṣūṣ. Yaqut was personally told that this worthy was born in "Valāshjird, one of the districts of *Hamadhān*". Samʿānī, *l.c.*, IV, 939, says only that Valāshjird lay between Hamadhān and Kermanshāhān.

Mādharān can be located at Bīd-i Surkh, which lies on the eastern slope of a pass and to the south-west of Kangāvar. In fact I. Rusta, 167, speaks of the *pass* of Mādharān. The pass of Bīd-i Surkh lies halfway between Ṣaḥna and Kangāvar. On the other hand, according to I. Khurdādhbih, 19, Madharān lay on the road branching off from Dukkān to Nihāvand. Bīd-i Surkh is a considerable borough and forms a convenient turning-point for the traveller to Nihāvand. I do not know wether there is a lake near the pass but beyond it, at some 4 miles' distance, another *sarāb* is shown on modern maps. Mādharān cannot be located at Mindar-ābād (south of Asadābād), as Tomaschek did in his article, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, 1883, p. 152.

§ 39. This "Castle of Thieves" has been long identified with Kangavar (Isidore of Charax, § 6: Κογκοβαρ, in Arabic *Kinkiwar*), where once stood the temple of Anāhīt (Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν). In 1916 I saw masons engaged on some new construction demolishing the ancient raised platform which once supported proud columns.

(Gāmāsī) est un lieu, dlt Takht-i Chîrîn, où un tell renferme les ruines d'un palais probablement de l'époque sassanide", cf. also pl. XXV. On the modern map Takht-i Shīrīn is shown very close to the southern bank of the Gāmāsī, and 4 miles to the south-east of it stands an isolated hill called Shāhnishīn. From this identification of Dukkān we can draw an interesting conclusion. Whereas the present-day highroad follows the northern bank of the Gāmāsī, the old road referred to by Abu-Dulaf must have crossed (near Bīsutūn) the joint waters of the Daynavar river and the Gāmāsī; it followed the *southern* bank of the latter river (see the present-day road Chambatān—Takht-i Shīrīn—Maḥmūdābād); then (before Ṣaḥna) it recrossed the river to its northern bank. This in fact is the only possible explanation of our §37.

As an appendix to § 36 comes § 42.

§ 37. In view of the direction of the road explained in § 36, it is obvious that Nu'mān's bridge served for the crossing of the Gāmāsī. As roughly speaking it stood halfway between Bisutun and Qaṣr al-luṣuṣ, it must be looked for immediately west of Ṣaḥna.

The story of Nu'mān is characteristic of our author's Arab pride. The name of the fief claimed by Nu'mān is clearly spelt *B.rs*, to which Yaqut IV, 191, has substituted *Nars* which, however, is doubtful. Birs-Nimrūd is ancient Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon. Cf. Yakut IV, 773, "Nars, a village where Daḥḥak-the- Bīvarāsp used to stay in Babylon". Herzfeld, *Birs* in *E. I.*, thinks that Nars is a mistake for Birs (Burs).

§ 38. See Yaqut II, 573. *Dastjird-Kisrawiya* means "the estate of Chosroes". B. Geiger, in *WZKM*, 42, 1935, p. 125, explains the Middle-Persian term *dastkart* as "Landgut". In Arabic it took the form *daskara* (1). Our Dastjird is most likely Ṣaḥna, a place of some importance, with Median rock-cut chambers in the adjoining gorge. Even its name *ṣaḥna* points to some raised platform.

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(1) However, according to Yaqut II, 575, this term "meant in (ordinary ? speech: level land (*al-daskara fil-lugha arḍ mustawiya*)".

The mention of Farhād is possibly the earliest reference to this hero of many later Persian poems. Neither Tabari nor Firdausi refer to Farhād, see H. Duda, *Ferhād und Schīrīn*, 1933, p. 5. Duda mistook the reference to the "artisan with a spade" (in reality Mithra) (§ 34) for a hint at Farhād : the latter is associated not with Tāq-i bustān but with Bīsutūn, as rightly stated in our § 35.

The bridge described in this paragraph is over the Daynavar river coming from the north and joining the Gāmāsī-āb coming from the east. Their united waters flow into the Qara-su (§ 34) and form the large river called Saymara, and lower down Kerkhā. It would be natural for the bridge to stand *above* the junction of the river of Daynavar with the Gāmāsī, but this makes it difficult to explain § 37.

§ 36. Yaqut's notice on Bā-Ayyūb, I, 436, is based on Abū-Dulaf. In it he identifies this place with al-Dukkān but in II, 581, (*al-Dukkān*) he seems to distinguish between the two villages. Yaqut too was unable to decipher the personal name of Abū-Ayyūb. He only connects him with the Jurhum tribe (which lived in Mekka before the Quraysh, see Schwarz, 486, and F. Buhl, *Djurhum* in *E.I.*).

Abū-Dulaf's reference to Sarmāj is very illuminative. This place was the residence of the founder of a Kurdish dynasty, Hasanōya (Hasanwayh), who died here in 369/979, see I. Athīr VIII, 281. By 348/959 Hasanoya had become so strong that the Būyid Rukn al-daula had to send an expedition against him. As a leader of the Barzīkān tribe he must have cut a figure even in Abū-Dulaf's time but Abū-Dulaf's nameless reference to "*a* Kurd" reflects the usual "superiority complex" of an Arab towards a Kurd. Yaqut's notice on Sarmāj, III, 82, refers to *Ḥasanōya's son Badr.

Sarmāj lies about 5 miles south-west of Bīsutūn, off the highroad, in the direction or Harsīn. O. Mann thinks that it was built on a Sasanian site, and describes its walls and carved stones, see *Globus*, 1903, vol. 83, pp. 327-31. As Hasanōya used the stones of Dukkān the latter should be sought nearby on the highway, north of Sarmāj. Herzfeld, *ZDMG*, 1926, p. 230, identifies Dukkān with the ruins of Takht-i Shīrīn, which is very likely. According to de Morgan II, 97 : "non loin (de Bîsutûn), en amont et sur la rive gauche du fleuve

§ 34. The monuments of Tāq-bustan (still called on the spot: *Tāq-i Vistām*) consist of Sasanian bas-reliefs of different kings: Ardashīr II (A.D. 379-84), Shāpūr II (310-79), Shāpūr III (384-8), and Khursau II Parvīz (590-629). Abū-Dulaf describes the famous sculpture of Khursrau II on his charger Shabdēz. In the upper register Khusrau is seen at the moment of his investiture by Ormuzd and Anāhīt. The goddess has her right hand on her breast, and in her left hand holds a kind of ewer from which water flows as a symbol of fertility. Abu-Dulaf's memory played him false for he must have had some recollection of the investiture of Ardashīr II by Ormuzd and *Mithra*. The latter holds in his hands a *barsom* "bundle of twigs" which looks like a stick. In any case he holds it uplifted; one might even imagine that he is about to strike with it, but not that (in the opposite direction) he is digging the earth. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 1920, fig. XXIX and XLIV, and pp. 83 and 92. For the strange term *bālkān* which Abū-dulaf applies to the object in Mithra's hands, Yāqūt III, 250, substitutes the word *bīl* (**bēl*) which in Persian means "spade". *Bālkān* is apparently also connected with *bāl* (with *imāla*) for **bēl*, just as I. Khurdādhbih, 19, has *Shab-dāz* for **Shab-dēz*. On the whole Abū-Dulaf seems to have seen the bas-reliefs but to have confused the details.

The river flowing between Kermanshah and Bisutun and now called Qara-su comes from the north, from the direction of Kurdistan. The bridge which spans it should not be confused with the bridge over the Gāmāsī to the east of Bisutun. As an appendix to the item on the spring of Tāq-i bustān comes § 44.

§ 35. The mountain of Bīsutūn (in Persian: *Parrou*) is usually called in Arabic *Sinn-Sumayra* "Sumayra's tooth". Abu-Dulaf speaks vaguely of the famous bas-reliefs of Darius's triumph over Bisutun. As an excuse for this deficiency one might quote the amusing reference to the sculpture representing the triumph of Darius over his enemies by a European traveller who travelled that way only 150 years ago: "Saona (Sahna) à Busutun, chaussée en grandes pierres... Plus loin sur un rocher élevé on voit une croix et les douze Apôtres sculptés", see Ange de Gardane, *Journal d'un voyage*, Paris 1809, p. 83.

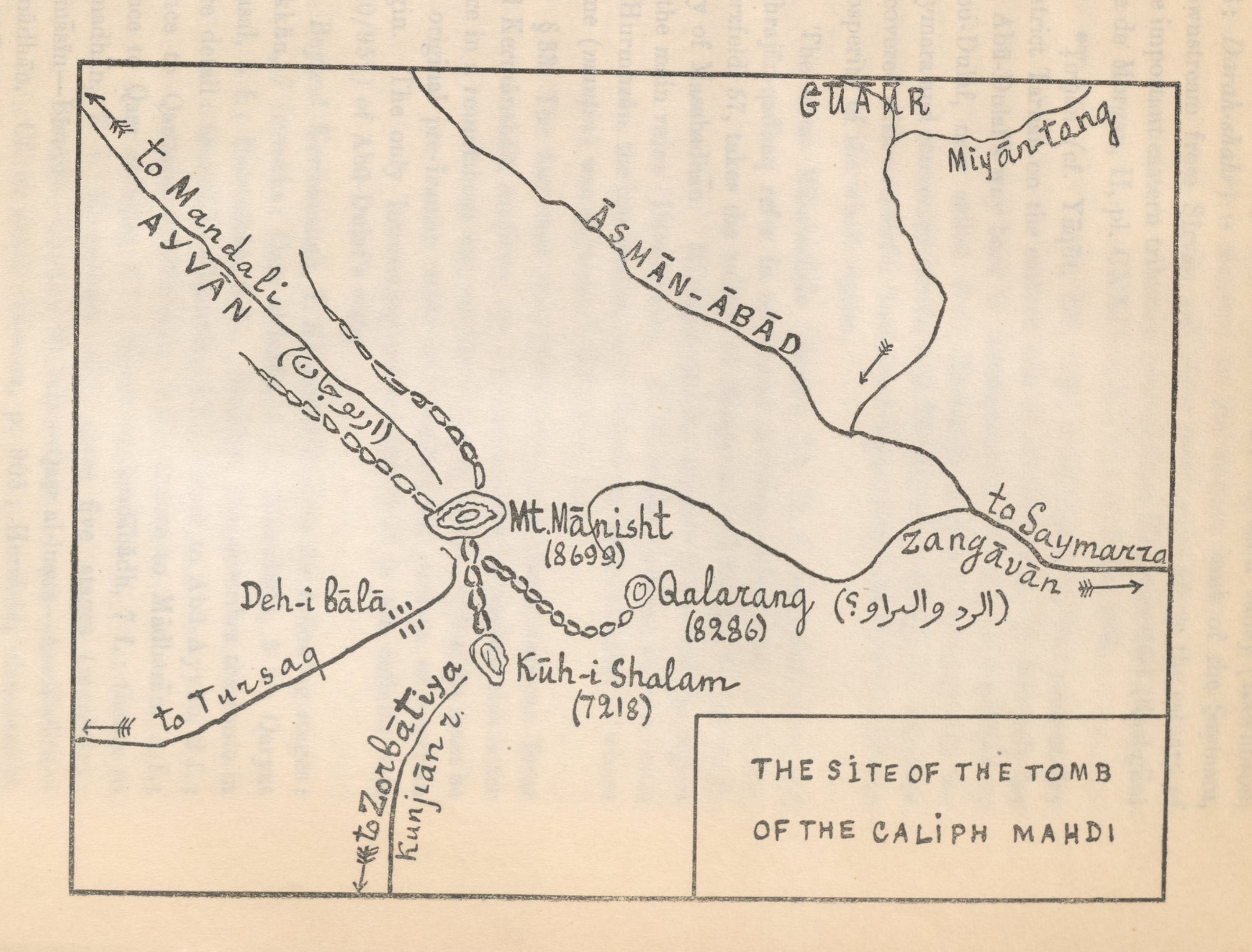
The main complex of ruins in the Ṣaymara valley (Rawlinson, 58: *Darah-shahr*) is situated on the western bank of the Ṣaymara, downstream from Sīrvān and some eight miles above the estuary of the important eastern tributary coming from Khurramābād (Kashgān) see de Morgan, II, pl. CXXIV-CXXVI; A. Stein, 206.

*Ṭirhān (cf. Yāqūt, III, 525) corresponds to the present-day district Tarhān on the eastern side of the Ṣaymara. It definitely lay on Abū-Dulaf's way back to Kermanshah. The bridge described by Abu-Dulaf, now called Pul-i Āb-burda, stood in an elbow of the Saymara and connected Sīrvān with Ṭirhān, see A. Stein, *l.c.* Luristan is covered with wonderful Sasanian bridges which indicate the pristine prosperity of the whole region.

The terms Māsabadhān (Strabo, XI, 13, 6: Μασσαβατική) and Mihrajān-qadhaq refer to territorial divisions rather than to towns. Herzfeld, 57, takes the valleys of Zangavān and Sīrvān for the territory of Masabadhān. Mihrajān-qadhaq apparently covered the region of the main ruins (Dara-shahr). In Mihrajān-quadhaq stood a castle of Hurmuzān, the last Iranian ruler before the Arab conquest: " whose home (*mauṭin*) was Ṣaymara ", Dīnawari, 140.

§ 33. The fact that Abu-Dulaf skips the stages between Ṭazar and Kermānshāh, confirms the impression that he reached this latter place in a roundabout way *via* the Ṣaymara valley. Qarmīsīn must be the original pre-Iranian name of Kermānshāh, perhaps of Assyrian origin. The only interesting point about § 33 is the definite date (340/951) of Abū-Dulaf's visit.

Beyond Kermanshah, I. Khurdādbih gives the following stages: Dukkān, 7 farsakhs; Qaṣr al-luṣūṣ, 7 f.; Khundādh, 3 f.; Qaryat al-'asal, 5 f.; Hamadhān, 5 f.. Istakhri, 195, describes the route in more detail: Qarmāsīn—Bīsutūn, 8 f.; thence to Abū-Ayyūb, 2 f.; thence to Qanṭarat-Abī-Nu'mān, 4 f.; thence to Mādharān, 5 f.; thence to Qaṣr al-luṣūṣ, 4 f.; thence to Asadābādh, 7 f.; thence to Hamadhān, 7 f. Muqaddasi, 401, gives five stages (*marḥala*): Qarmāsīn—Bīsutūn—Qanṭara-Nu'mān—Qaṣr al-luṣuṣ—Asadāwādh—Hamādhān. Cf. in detail Schwarz, p. 905; Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, *ZDMG*, 1926.


GUĀHR
Miyān-tang
ĀSMĀN-ĀBĀD
to Saymarra
Zangāvān
Mt. Mānisht
(8699)
Qalarang
(8286)
(الرد والراو؟)
(اريوجان)
Kūh-i Shalam
(7218)
Deh-i Bālā
to Tursaq
to Zorbātiya
Kunjiān r.
to Mandali
AYVĀN
THE SITE OF THE TOMB
OF THE CALIPH MAHDI

Very curious is the additional information of Yaqut under *Dihbālā*, II, 632: "it lies in the neighbourhood of Māsabadhān in the district of al-Jabal, near Bandanījīn. In it the tomb (*qabr*) of of the caliph Mahdi is situated, together with the place of his martyrdom (*mashhad*) to which attendants (*quwwām*) are attached. They have en allowance (*jarāya*). In 564/1168 al-Mustarshid enlarged (the mausoleum) and distributed much money among its inhabitants". This report comes certainly from a well-informed source and forms a later link in the transmission of the report on the death of Mahdi.

Dih-i bālā is a well-known point in Western Luristan (Pusht-i kūh) and served as residence to the former vali of Pusht-i kūh. It is situated on the western slope of Mt. Mānisht (8699 f.) which is a conspicuous landmark and the watershed of the whole region. Several rivers have their sources on this mountain: (1) to the east flow the western tributaries of the Saymara (Karkhā); (2) to the north, the river of Ayvān, which lower down turns westwards and irrigates the oasis of Mandali (ancient Bandanījīn); (3) to the west, the river of Dih-i bālā which, in its lower course (in Iraq), takes the name of Tursaq; (4) to the south, the Kunjiyān which irrigates the oasis of Zorbatiya in Iraq.

With Yaqut's reference to Dih-i bālā we are in the very region to which our previous examination pointed. Yaqut's *al-Jabal* may even stand here not for Media but for Mt. Mānisht. Its twin peak (to the south of it) is called on recent maps Kūh-i Qalarang, but Col. Chirikov (1849-52) in his *Putevoy zhurnal*, St. Petersburg 1877, p. 277, calls in Kala-reg (*Qal'a-raq ?), and Herzfeld (1907) Qal'a Raqq. *This* is undoubtedly the place near which the remains of Mahdi's mausoleum must be looked for!

Sīrvān (Rawlinson, 54: "the most perfect remains of a Sasanian city in Persia"), now Shīrvān, lay in the rich valley of a western tributary of the Saymara described above under (1), see Rawlin son, 56; Chirikov, *Putevoy Zhurnal*, pp. 273, 276; de Morgan II, pl. CXXII; Herzfeld, *l.c.*, 57; Sir A. Stein, *Old routes of Western Iran*, 226-32.

§ 32. Abu-Dulaf now makes a long *détour* towards the valley of the Ṣaymara. Its mighty stream (Kerkha) drains a vast basin stretching from the southern dependencies of Hamadan to Kerind. Instead of following the course of the Kerind rever, Abu-Dulaf cuts across the western tributaries of the Ṣaymara and penetrates into the valley of the river of Mandali (Gangīr, or Soumār) which flows towards the Tigris.

I am inclined to identify this place with the valley of Ayvān which lies on one of the headwaters of the Gangīr and on the way to the Saymara basin, with which it could have been administratively connected. Yaqut I, 230, whose authority is Abu-Dulaf adds that the reading of اريوجان is uncertain. At another place (I, 60) he refers to a village near Nihāvand, called آذيوخان (probably آذيوجان). The likeness of the two names was noticed by Wüstenfeld and possibly اريوجان too should be read آذيوجان *Ādhīvagān. Such a form would easily account for modern Persian *Ayvān* ("portico, palace") and thus support our identification.

Even in Abu-Dulaf's time Mahdi's tomb was obliterated. Nor could Rawlinson find it in 1836 (JRGS, 1839, p. 56), and Herzfeld does not refer to it in his report in *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 1907, p. 56. However, Rawlinson, who took "Radh" for *Rūdbār* (Sīrvān), looked for it at a wrong place [1]. The versions of the circumstances of Mahdi's death are divergent. According to Tabari, III/1, 523, 526, he died in Māsabadhān in a village called *Radhdh*; Mas'ūdī's text in *Murūj*, VI, 225, is incorrect but seems to indicate that the caliph travelled towards *Adhīvajān and Sīrvān and that he died at *Radlayn*. More suggestive is Mas'ūdī's *Tanbīh*, 343, where Mahdī is said to have died in *al-Radhdh wal-Rāq*. Whatever the reading of the last name, it seems to csrrespond to our al-Radd wal-*B.rāv* (?).

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[1] I now see that JRGS, 1839, contains a *corrigendum* saying that Major Rawlinson's "further researches have shown that the tomb of the Khaliph Mahdi was near (*sic*) Mendalli". This correction, (possibly under the influence of Yaqut's article on Dihbālā), cannot be considered as an improvement.

which is the only borough of any importance in those parts. Under *Qal'at al-marj*, Yāqūt III, 192, quotes al-'Umrānī who refers to swords manufactured in it. Even in 1934 I bought in Kerind an excellent penknife produced on the spot. Yaqut gives a cross-reference to Marj al-qal'a, III, 488, but this notice is incomplete. It is quite possible that there was a castle in Kerind, where two alternate roads from Mesopotamia converged (see above under Tāq-i Girrā).

Bajkam was the *amīr al-umarā* of the caliphs Raḍī and Muttaqī and died in 329/941. This date fits well into the series of other synchronisms in Abū-Dulaf's travels.

§ 30 ought to come before the description of the Tāq (§ 29). Dayr al-ghār must be the Median (?) tomb carved in the rock and now called Kel-i Dāvūd [1]. The local tradition sees in if David's work-shop (Qor'ān, XXXIV, 10). The indecent story about Abu-Nuwās sounds like a poetical interlude supplied by Abū-Dulaf himself. Kel-i Davud is situated so high up an almost vertical rock that no *bons-vivants* would be induced to risk their necks in order to reach it. A local sayyid whom I saw climb it in 1913 performed a feat of true acrobatics.

§ 31. Ṭazar ("a palace") is possibly identical with, or lay near to, Qasr-Yazīd which was situated 4 farsakhs beyond Qal'at al-Marj (I. Khurd., 19). Muqaddasi, 401, says that the distance to Ṭazar was 1 *barīd*, i. e. somewhat over 2 farsakhs and that Ṭazar stood at some distance from the road, *ibid.*, 193. The name of Khusrau-kard (b. Shāhān) looks like a place-name: "made (built) by Khusrau" (cf. note to § 70), and it increases the plausibility of Tazar being located at the present-day Khusrau-ābād, which stands half-way between Kerind and Hārūnābād. Here the maps show a road branching off to the south, which also agrees with the indications of the following paragraph.

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(1) Prof. A. Eghbal suggests the reading **Dayr al-ghādir*, "the traitors' cell", probably in view of the verb *ghadara* occurring further down, but *ghār* ("grotto") is very clearly written and is topical in our case.

*Scientifique en Perse* 1895, II, plates XLI-XLII, and map. Cf. Schwarz, 691-2.

§ 29. It is curious that under *Ḥulwān* Yaqut II, 317, quotes *verbatim* much of Abu-Dulaf's information (sulfurous water, *diflā*, pomegranates, *shāh-anjīr*) while attributing it to Abū-Zayd (al-Balkhi ?). Quite probably it is only a slip for *Abū-Dulaf*.

Nothing much is now seen of the ruins of Hulwan (ancient Khalman), which lie close to the present-day Sarpul. After an interruption, the description of the antiquities is continued in § 30. "The Cupper's Vault" is the Sasanian monument now called *Tāq-i girrā*, a kind of niche, possibly a "half-way house" before the ascent to the main pass began. Immediately beyond the Tāq a path branches off to the north towards Rījāb (in Zohāb) whence a by-road leads to Kerind on the Iranian plateau.

Unlike the other geographers, Abu-Dulaf is not much interested in distances, but only in the antiquities and natural features of the stages. In our commentary we have to consider that the stretch between Hulwan and Kermanshah, evaluated in Arab sources about 35 farsakhs, is on modern maps equal to 87·5 miles (142 klm.). Consequently, in these parts, farsakh may be taken as equal to 2·5 miles (4 klm.) roughly.

Mādharūstān (I. Rusta, 165 : *Māy-Darvāstān* ; Muqaddasi, 135 : *Mādharvāstān*) lay 6 farsakhs from Hulwan (I. Khurdādhbih, 18). This place is described not as a town but as a kind of monument. The detail about snow falling only on its eastern side seems to agree with I. Rusta who says that il lay beyond the pass. Thus it can be located at Sar-mīl ("the top of a column" ?), though the distances of Arab geographers do not fit entirely into the present day maps.

Marj al-qalʿa, lying 4 farsakhs further on (I. Khurd.) should be Kerind (Isidore of Charax, § 4 : the beginning of Media is *Carina*) with a meadow by the road, but the distance between Sar-mīl and Kerind is less than 4 farsakhs (10 miles ?). As often in Abu-Dulaf, the description of Marj al-qalʿa is interrupted by § 30. His additional remarks on this place in § 31 support its identification with Kerind,

without justification. During the campaign of Khusrev-pasha in 1629-30, the Ottoman troops in Shahrazūr were attacked at night by 42 Persian desperadoes operating from Nefsid (*Nafsūd*) under the leadership of a certain Ahmad-Duzd, see Na'īmā, *Tārīkh*, I, 478. The nickname of this chief may be connected with the name Duzdān by which Abū-Dulaf seems to have referred to Nafsūd some seven centuries before.

Nafsūd pershed on a protruding off-shoot of the mountain is a very small place and the second part of § 27, as Schwarz, *l.c.*, 699, note 11, very judiciously suggested, continues the description of Nīm-az-rāy (§ 24). Such disturbances in the text are frequent. They are like annotations incorporated in the record.

According to Yaqut IV, 455, Karkh-Juddān was a borough at the frontier separating Iraq from Shahrazūr and lay opposite Khāniqīn at some distance. It was a place of considerable importance in Christian history, see Hoffmann, *l.c.*, 276. Sūnāyā was the name of the village which once stood on the site of the future ward 'Atīqa in Baghdad. A kind of black grapes was called after it, see Yaqut III, 613.

§§ 28. The mention of Karkh-Juddān (§ 27) suggests that on his way from Shahrazūr, Abū-Dulaf followed the right bank of the Diyālā and crossed the river by some ford (Bān-Khelān ?). He does not mention the bridge on the Diyālā which stood at Shamīrān at the northernmost point of Zohāb. The bridge of Khāniqīn on the highway from Baghdad to Khorasan stands not on the Diyala but on its left tributary, the Alvand (Ḥulwān).

From Khāniqīn on the report follows the "Khorasanian road" described by all the geographers and traced by W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, in *Sitzungsber. Wiener. Akad.*, 1883, CII, 145-231 ; Marquart, ***Ērānšahr***, *passim* ; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, *passim*, and, in great detail, Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, see Index.

The passage on Qaṣr-i Shīrīn (cf. Yaqut IV, 113) is too general. For a plan and description of the site see de Morgan, *Mission*

The language of the people of Awrāmān is not Kurdish but supposed to be connected with the north-Persian dialects. If our location of Daylam--astān is right, our § 25 would be a pointer to the way in which Awrāmān was colonised by its curious population, cf. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in BSOAS, 1943, XI/1, p. 76.

§ 26. The name of the place called *Bīr* (right in Yāqūt I, 784, but III, 340, wrongly: *Shīz*) and inhabited by Zaydī Shi'ites should be restored as **Pīr* "a shī'a saint (corresponding to Arabic *shaykh*)". On the south-eastern edge of Shahrazūr there lies a famous place of pilgrimage Kūsaj-i Hajīj, one of the centres of the extremist sect Ahl-i Ḥaqq (see *E.I.*). It is situated on the northern side of the gorge through which the Sīrvān (Diyālā) comes out of the mountains. Kūsaj seems to have been a stronghold. In 405/1014 the Ḥasanwayhid Badr was killed during his siege of the *Kūshd* (or *Kūsh-kh.d*) castle, which belonged to the "Kurdish" chief Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd (or *Khushīn* b. Mas'ūd), see Minorsky, *Gūrān*, pp. 82-3. I am tempted to identify this castle with the present-day Kūsaj and with Abū-Dulaf's **Pīr*. The inhabitants claim that the Kūsaj ("man with a thin beard"?) lying buried in their village is 'Ubaydullāh, brother of Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā, by whom they were converted to Islam, see Minorsky, *Senne* in *E.I.* On the other hand the name *Kūsaj* may be a reminiscence of the ancient tribe **Kūsa*, which, after the Mongol invasion, was forced to migrate to Egypt and Syria, see al-'Umarī, trans. by Quatremère, p. 308.

§ 27. If the identification of § 26 is right, Duzdān ("Thieves") should be looked for in Nafsūd, the residence of the chief of Western Awrāmān (*A.-i luhūn*). I visited this eagle's nest in 1914 as the guest of the local chief Ja'far-sān ("sulṭān") and saw the fine spring gushing forth in the centre of the village and filling a tank. It was shown to me as an object of local pride. Even now the inhabitants of Awrāmān do not see eye to eye with the people of the Shahrazur plain. They speak a language (*awrāmī*) different from Kurdish (*kurmānjī*) and at the time of Rich, *A residence in Kurdistan*, 1836, I, p. 202, still wore a special national dress. The Awrāmī are known for their courage and the name *Duzdān* applied to their village would be not

(perhaps **Shārān* "cascades") which refers to these mountains is also known in Syriac sources. The remains of strong fortifications on Mt. Zalm suggest that it stood on an important road.

The description of Nīm-az-rāy is continued in § 27. The traces of the broad walls, if found, will one day confirm the identification of the town [1]. It is true that in Shahrazur one obtains an extremely vast view if the whole plain. The Biblical references may again (cf. §§ 16, 17) originate from some Christian or Jewish interlocutors of Abū-Dulaf. The Arabs had penetrated into Shahrazūr even before Islam, see I. Faqīh, p. 130. According to Balādhuri, 333, Shahrazūr, together with the neighbouring Ṣamaghān (Zimkān ?) and Darābādh was conquered by ʿUtba b. Farqad al-Sulami (under ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).

Of the Kurdish tribes of Shahrazūr, the Jalālī correspond to the *K.lālī* of al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, transl. by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, 1838, p. 307 (*galāl* in Kurdish means "a river-bed"). For *Yābisān* Yaqut gives *Bāsiyān* and this name may represent Masʿūdī's *Bārisān* (*Murūj*, III, 258) ; a village Pārīs exists in Shahrazur. The Ḥakami are mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr VI, 93, 145. For Sūlī Yaqut writes *Sabūlī* and al-ʿUmari gives السولية, presumably **Sīvelī* ; cf. the name of the district *Sīvel*, south of the river of Bāne.

§ 25. Only if Nīm-az-Rāy was *not* situated on the extreme western edge of the plain, and in particular if its identification with Khurmāl (on the eastern side) is right, the place called Daylam-astān lying at a distance of seven (Yaqut, II, 711 : nine) farsakhs from it, must be located to the *east* of the frontier range (Shaʿrān) in the present day Awrāmān-i takht. In this case the fortifications on Mt. Zalm may have been intended to protect Shahrazūr against such Daylami raiders (coming from the region described in § 11). It is pretty obvious that the camp for the loot would be situated under the protection of the mountains.

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[1] Contrary to Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 255, who preferred the reading of a MS. of Yaqut giving the height of the wall as 300 cubits (?), our text confirms "8 cubits", as in Wüstenfeld's text of Yaqut III, 340.

The name of the Kurdish tribe Hadhbānī must be connected with the region of Arbil (in Syriac: Heδayyab) and its expansion can be explained by the activities of the Ḥamdānids. As already mentioned, when in 332/943 Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān invaded the region of Lake Urmiya he was accompanied by Jaʿfar b. Shakūya Hadhbānī, see Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 62–7. The Hadhbānī are often quoted in the internal struggles of the Musāfirids (see § 12). When in 420/1029 the Ghuz Turks occupied Marāgha they exterminated a large number of Hadhbānī Kurds, see I. Athīr, IX, 269, but the Kurds joined the Rawwādī ruler of Tabriz and expelled the Ghuz. The Rawwādī themselves were a division (*baṭn*) of the Hadhbānī (I. Khallikān, ed. de Slane, IV, 480) and Saladin's ancestors belonged to this tribe. About 420/1020 the chief of Urmiya was Abul-Hayjā Rabīb al-daula Hadhbānī, see I. Athir IX, 271, 276, who boasted of having killed 30,000 Ghuz. See Minorsky, *Marāgha*, *Urmiya*, *Ushnū* in *E. I.*

The extension of the Hadhbānī dominions up to Salaq, Shahrazūr and Daynavar seems correct. Salaq is a district referred to chiefly in the events of the 3rd/9th century. Of the two Salaqs, that of Aḥmad b. Rauḥ al-Audī corresponds to the present day district of Lāhījān (west of Sauch-bulaq); the range of frontier mountains (Zinwē-Shaykh pass) divided it from the western Salaq of the Banū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥamdānī roughly corresponding to the present day district of Rawānduz, see Yāqūt III, 903, Balādhuri, 326, cf. Hoffmann, *l.c.*, 243–4, Marquart, *Südarmenien*, 444.

§ 24. Cf. Yāqūt III, 340. On Shahrazūr see Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 694–705, and Minorsky, *Shehrizūr*, in *E. I.* The name *Nīm-az *rāh* "half-the-way" must be connected with the tradition of the Sasanian kings who on their accession made a pilgrimage on foot from the capital Ctesiphon to the fire-temple of Ganzak (see above § 5), see I. Khurdādhbih, p. 120, Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 95. Some ten ancient mounds rise in the vast plain of Shahrazūr (50 x 40 km.) and the location of the chief town is still uncertain. In the last place Herzfeld has identified it with the present day Khurmāl (older *Gul-ʿanbar*, or perhaps Ghulām-bar ?). In fact this place lies close to Mt. Zalm in the great frontier range between Persia and ʿIraq. The name Shaʿrān

18: *Jār*) which stretch south of ʿAmadiya in the direction of the Upper Zab. Ibn al-Athir VII, 373, applies the term Jabal-Dāsin to the region of the Ḥumaydī Kurds (whose centre was ʿAqr, south of Gāra). These identifications make it likely that by الحرانية *al-Ḥarāniya* Abū-Dulaf means *الجرامقة *al-Jarāmiqa*, an ancient term referring to the inhabitants of the Nestorian diocese Bēth-Garmay (cf. al-Kalbi quoted by I. Faqīh, 35) which covered a vast and ill-defined region along the Persian frontier (east of Arbīl, north of Kerkūk, and probably comprising Shahrazūr), see G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 267–77; cf. Yāqūt I, 454: *Bā-Jarmaq*. This vague enumeration brings us in fact to the northern extension of the Zagros range behind which lay the principality of Nirīz.

§ 23 gives a pertinent account of the small Arab principality to the south of Lake Urmiya. Balādhurī, 331, mentions the settlement of Murr b. ʿAmr al-Mauṣili al-Ṭāʾī in Nirīz. In Persian this latter name means apparently "outlet, estuary" and Nirīz must correspond to the present-day Sulduz, see Minorsky in *E.I.* (1) Murr's children occupied Jābarvān lying further east. In 212/827 ʿAli b. Murr was arrested and sent to Baghdad with other rebels *but the family* continued in the occupation of its fief, see I. Khurdāhdbih, 119. According to Tabari III, 1886, in 260/873 the caliph appointed Ibn al-Rudaynī ʿOmar b. ʿAli b. Murr to the governorship of Azarbayjan and he fought the former governor ʿAlā b. Aḥmad al-Azdī. Under 261/874 Ibn al-Athīr mentions his son ʿAlī b. ʿOmar. Iṣṭakhri, 182, still refers to Banū-Rudaynī as masters of Jabarvan, Nirīz and Ushnū but Ibn-Hauqal, 240, speaks of *al-Rudaynī* as long extinct and (p. 239) replaced by the Hadhbāniya Kurds. I. Hauqal's text wrongly gives Tabrīz (for **Nirīz*) and Dākharqān (for* *Jābarvān*). Abū-Dulaf is right in saying that Buḥturi wrote poems for the rulers of Nirīz. Kasravī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, III, 76–7, has found in Buḥturi's *Dīwān* odes in honour of Muḥammad b. ʿOmar b. ʿAli b. Murr and Abū-Khālid Murr b. Murr, with references to Nirīz, Shahrazūr, Marāgha and Ardabil, see *Dīwān al-Buḥturi*, Constantinople, 1300, II, 42, 173, 251.

(1) Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, II, 173, speaks of *wādī-Nirīz*, *i.e.* probably of the valley of the Gādir on which Sulduz is situated.

mountains above *Kish (in Transoxiana), I. Khurdādhbih, 181, also says that there are layers of snow upon them distinguishable for each year: "in this snow great white worms are found the size of elephants and when they come down, water appears" (? text corrupt) ([1]).

Strangely enough Abu-Dulaf does not refer to the best-known product of Armenia, the crimson dye produced by the *qirmiz* insect (coccus lacca, stick lac). According to Istakhri, 188, and I. Hauqal, 245, *buzyūn* was produced in Dabīl. The name, usually mis-spelt in Persian dictionaries, is explained as **buz-qūn* "a kind of byssus". As byssus seems to have been a linen fabric, the explanation would contradict Kremer, "Culturgeschichte des Orients", I, 342, who says that *buzyūn* was a "geblümter, buntfärbiger, schwerer Seidenstoff". Prof. W. Henning draws my attention to Jawālīqī's *Mu'arrab*, 79, in which *sundūs* (usually associated with *buzyūn*) is explained as a stuff made of goat-hair (*mir'izz*). He therefore takes *buz* for "goat" and explains **buz-qūn* as "a kind of stuff made of goat-hair".

§ 22 is one of the connecting paragraphs (cf. § 15) in which the author briefly fills in the gaps in his itineraries before reaching a point to which he intends to direct the attention of his patrons.

The author apparently wishes to trace the southern frontier of Armenia (and perhaps the line of his return journey to the basin of Lake Urmiya) along the ranges of mountains. In doing so he commits several mistakes. He obviously takes جبال حور (read: **Jabal-jūr*) for a mountain (*jabal*), whereas the name Chapal-jur (in Armenian *chapal*, or *chapagh*, being "expansion", and *jur* "water") refers to a district lying on the middle course of the Murad-su (north of the Tigris), cf. Ḥājjī-Khalīfa, *Jihān-nümā*, 439: *Chapaqjur*. Jibāl-*Dāsin, as shown by Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, pp. 202–7, more or less corresponds to the Gāra mountains (Yāūt bII,

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([1]) Abu-Dulaf's story may be also a remote echo of Strabo's record, XI, 14, 4 (based on Apollonides and Theophanes) that in Armenia "hollow masses of ice form in the snow which contain good water, in a coat of ice as it were; and also living creatures breed in the snow...and that the genesis of of these creatures is supposed to be like that of the gnats which spring from the flames and sparks of mines".

formerly the river flowed across the plain but "five of six hundred years ago" disappeared underground. The same tradition may underlie the story reported by Abū-Dulaf. It must be noted that on a small island in the north-eastern corner of this lake there stood a castle called in Armenian Tsov ("the sea") which is mentioned in the Armenian historians in the 11th-12th centuries. Even the mysterious name *W.rīmān* ورىمان might be compared with *Arghāna, or Arghānī (*ارغانى). After the junction of the headwaters of the Tigris, the river flows to Amid (Diyarbakr),—more or less "in the direction" of Nisibin.

To sum up: we should assume that various records have been confused in § 20 and the reference to Aflūghūniya (*Kūghūniya) should be separated from that of Warīmān (*Arghānī) and the underground river. In Ottoman times the sanjaq of Arghana extended in the north to Pālū on the eastern Euphrates (Murad-su), see V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 1891, II, 475-93. Arghana possesses a famous copper-mine which, according to the tradition, was discovered in 512/1096, see Cuinet, p. 481, but of which something must have been known even in earlier times. This might explain Abu-Dulaf's mineralogical interest in the region. Curiously enough Arghana would link up perfectly with Jabal-jūr which in § 22 seems to mark a further step in Abu-Dulaf's progress on his tour south of Lake Van. Jabal-jūr lies immediately upstream from Pālū.

§ 21. Muslim geographers usually call the Great Ararat al-Ḥārith and the Lesser Ararat al-Ḥuwayrith, names which have not yet been satisfactorily explained. The fact that Abū-Dulaf calls Mt. Ararat by the Armenian name *Māsīs* shows that he must have heard it on the spot. The same name appears in *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (740–1340), ed. Le Strange, 200, as *Māst*, and in *Matla' al-sa'dayn*, ed. M. Shafī', I, 443, as *Māsta-kūh*. One point is, however, to be noted. The Armenians gave the name Nekh-Masis to Mt. Sipan on the northern shore of Lake Van, and Abū-Dulaf's *Māsīs* might conceivably refer to that mountain. There is still some suspicion that Abu-Dulaf's knowledge of Armenia was limited to the environs of Lake Van.

The giant worms that live in the snow are only figments of the author's imagination intended to explain avalanches. Speaking of the

towns. Divrik (*Tephrikē*) was the great centre of the Paulicians ([1]) and the curious habits of a particular kind of Christians which our author describes may be those of that interesting sect. See K. Ter-Mkrttschian, "Die Paulikianer", 1893. The difficulty in this case would be that the death-bed confession, which Abu-Dulaf describes, does not fit in with the supposed teachings of the Paulicians, according to which confession of sins was to be made to God "and not auricularly to priests", cf. Aristakēs of Lastiverd, as quoted by F. C. Conybeare in *The Key to Truth*, 1898, p. 134. On the other hand, we read in *The Key to Truth*, cf. XXI: "what fruit of absolution hast thou? Tell it to us before the congregation". This indicates that public confession *was* practised by the Paulicians.

So far, so good, but the reference to the river disappearing underground and then re-appearing in the direction of Nisibin seems to indicate some entirely different place. Niṣībīn lies on the Khābūr, about 90 miles south-east of Āmid (Diyarbakr), far beyond the bounds of Armenia. We have to assume that its name figures in the text only as an approximate indication of direction. The classical story of a river disappearing underground is that of the sources of the Tigris. The main (northern) headwater flowing from Bil-ḳalein (ancient: *Nymphaeon*) flows for some distance through an underground channel. The question was recently studied by Marquart in *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, 1930, with all the prodigious erudition of that great scholar. Yet he came to the conclusion, p. 20, 24, etc., that the references in Trogus-Justinus and Ammianus Marcellinus to the underground course of the Tigris refer to the other (western) headwater of the Tigris coming from Arghāna. It was supposed that the river disappeared in Lake Thespitis and then re-appeared on the surface. In fact the sources of the Arghāna river lie quite close to Lake Göljik (50 sq. km.) and may represent an outlet of its waters. As late as 1899 E. Huntington heard the local Armenians say that

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([1]) According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, the theme of Koloneia reached Tephrikē (Divrik) "over which ruled Chrysocheir, the well-known chief of the Manichaeans". This chief is mentioned in *al-Tanbīh*, 183.

quotes this paragraph without acknowledgment, has left out the words *bayna-hā wa-bayna* and referred the description to Aflūghūniya itself. § 20 is apparently based on some literary reminiscences or conversations with local Christians. Therefore, the first impression of the report on the stupidity of the inhabitants is that it echoes the Greek gibes at the Paphlagonians, see references in V. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 1854, II, 546, under *Paphlagonia*. But this surmise meets immediately with a number of objections. *Between* Armenia and Paphlagonia lies Cappadocia (*Qabadhaq* in I. Khurdādhbih, 105), and neither in Paphlagonia nor in Cappadocia is there a name to fit the pattern of the name Warīmān (?). Still more astonishing is the story of the river disappearing underground and reappearing in Niṣībīn. The rivers in the two provinces just mentioned flow northwards to the Black sea, whereas Niṣībīn, in upper Mesopotamia, is entirely screened from the north by the Euphrates and the Tigris. All this suggests that in § 20 we are confronted with some major telescoping of records, or a mutilation of the text.

I have found no definite solution of the problem but I have followed two lines of reasoning which may prove helpful in the future. As regards Aflūghūniya ( افلوغونيا ) I can think only of a confusion with Kūghūniya ( كوغونيا ) which bears a similar appearance in the Arabic script. *Kūghūniya* is a typically Armenian deformation of the ancient name of *Koloneia*. (In Armenian hard *l* becomes *gh*, see below *Jabal-jur* in § 22). It is true that the form *Kūghūniya* appears in Muslim texts only at the Seljuk time [1] and that Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 179, still spells قلونية *Qulūniya*, but Mas'ūdī gives a learned description of the Byzantine themes, whereas Abū-Dulaf naturally depended on the vulgar form used on the spot. *Kūghūniya*, the present day Shabin-Qara-hisar, lay on one of the branches of the Kelkit-su (ancient Lycos) some 90 miles north-west or Erzinjān, see W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, 1890, p. 267 : Koloneia. In this case the region "between" Armenia and **Kūghūniya* would be the basin of the western Euphrates in which lie Kemākh, Divrik and other

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[1] See, however, Muqaddasi, 150, on a different * *Qughūniya*

Maslama left the lake free for public use but Muḥammad b. Marwān appropriated its fish and sold it to the population. The identification of Bāḥunays (or *Bājunays) is still not finally agreed upon. One might take it for Apahunikʿ, which had its centre in the famous Melāzgerd where Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantines in 1071.([1]) On the other hand, as Yāqūt I, 455, says that Bājunays together with Arjish is reckoned among the districts of Khilāṭ, one should prefer its identification with Bznunikʿ, which was the Armenian name of the district of Khilāṭ, see Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 329. Even Lake Van was called "the sea of Bznunikʿ". According to Vardan's Geography this district extended down to Ḥizan. This is apparently our Ḥīzān, called nowadays *Khīzān* (cf. *Sharafnāma*, p. 210) and lying south of Lake Van (near Siʿirt, already in the basin of the Bohtān-su which flows into the Tigris).

There is another problem to consider. According to Abu-Dulaf Bāḥunays (*B¯junays ?) belonged to the Banū-Sulaym. It is true that the Arab family established in Apahunikʿ (Melazgerd) lorded it over the northern bank of Lake Van. Under 353/964, i.e. about the time of Abu-Dulaf, Miskawayh II, 210, writes: "now in the land of Armenia and Malāzgerd there was a man named Abul-Ward who had made himself master of the country". According to the Armenians, the family of this Abul-Ward was Kaysikʿ (i.e. *Qays*). This would not contradict Abu-Dulaf's reference to the *banū-Sulaym*, for the Sulaym division belonged to the Qays tribe, see A. Fischer, *Kaiṣ-ʿAilan*, and Lammens, *Sulaim* in *E. I.* Moreover, Jahhāf al-Sulami (a truly Sulamī name!), cf. Yaʿqūbī II, 562, founded an Arab principality much further north, on the middle Araxes, and towards 195-8/810-4, temporarily seized Dvin, see Marquart, *Streifzuge*, pp. 405-6, and *Südarmenien*, 1930, p. 502. Abul-Ward of 353/964 may have been related to the earlier Jahhāf.

§ 20 is a great puzzle. The paragraph begins with the words: "between it (i.e. Armenia) and Aflūghūniya lies a large country (or "town" *balad*)", which is then described. Yāqūt I, 331, who

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([1]) However, the use of ح for Armenian *h* is unlikely.

eastern bank, which produce the so-called "Tabriz marble". The two famous castles on the lake were: Shāhū (on an island, now a peninsula on the eastern bank) and Güvärchin-qal'a ("the Pigeon castle",—perhaps the ancient *Yaktur*, see Tabari III, 171,—on the north-western bank.

*Kabūdhān*, "the blue one", is the name of the lake itself (Strabo XI, 13,2: Σπαῦταν, read*Καπαῦταν), but Mas'ūdī believes that the name of the lake was derived from that of a village. Our passage is curiously close to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 75:

وبحيرة كبوذان . لا يتكوّن ذو روح فيها وهى مضافة إلى قرية فى جزيرة فى وسطها تعرف بكبوذان يسكنها ملاحو المراكب التى يركب فيها فى هذه البحيرة وتصب اليها أنهار كثيرة .

On the possibility of some borrowing from Mas'ūdi's *Murūj*, see our note to § 8, but Mas'ūdī's *Tanbīh* was completed only in 345/956.

§ 18. Cf. Yaqut II, 922, Z. Qazwini I, 191. The description passes to the north-western corner of Lake Urmiya. Kurds (of the Hadhbānī tribe) must have been numerous in Salmās. In 332/943-4 the expedition led by a Ḥamdānid reached Salmās. It was accompanied by Ja'far b. Shakūya Hadhbānī, possibly a local Kurd, see Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 66. Our author says that Wādī al-Kurd was situated *near* Salmas. In the Armenian geography two different districts, Zarehavan and Zaravand, are mentioned in the same region. As Zaravand is often coupled with Her (now Khoy) and referred to separately from Salmas, one might think that Zaravand corresponded to Zūrāvā, a district situated west of Khoy on the way to Chaldiran (where Shah Ismā'īl was defeated by Sultan Selīm in 1514). But should we in accordance with Abu-Dulaf place Zarāvand near Salmās we are bound to identify Zūrāvā with Zarehavan (?). A trace of the name Zarāvand ("the herb aristolochia") may survive in that of the river of Salmas, Zola. In fact, the last sentence of § 18 shows that we are still on the shores of Lake Urmiya.

§ 19. Opens the description of Armenia. Cf. Yaqut II, 922-3. Balādhurī, 200, calls Lake Van *buḥayrat al-ṭirrikh*. [ طرّيخ must be connected with Greek τάριχος "dried or smoked fish"]. Ḥabīb b.

the Ṣanāriya (Ts'anar). The latter were the spirited mountaineers of Upper Kakhetia and were ruled by a chorepiscopus (*korikoz*). In this case the two Sanḥarībs were different persons. The Ṣanār lived far too north of the presumable route of Abū-Dulaf, but in Khachēn, lying south of Barda'a, he was close to the domains of Sanḥarīb b. Sawāda. Nothing definite can be said of جيدان = حندان.

The last name, *al-Badhdhayn* ("the two Badhdh" cf. Yāqūt I, 529), belongs to Bābak's residence many times mentioned in Islamic sources. The reference to Badhdhayn would suggest that Abu-Dulaf crossed the Araxes (by the ancient Khudāfarīn bridge ?) and went up the Kalaybar river, in one of the lateral valleys of which Badhdh must be looked for. To call the Kalaybar river "huge" would be an exaggeration but its current is very strong and easily rolls trees and large boulders. Some information on Badhdh could be culled from literary sources but the details showing the persistence of the Bābak tradition are curious.

§ 16. Cf. Yāqūt II, 780. The main features of the plain extending on both banks of the river are correct. The name Balāsajān is common in Armenian sources but rare in Muslim literature, see Balādhurī, 203, 206. According to I. Khurdādhbih, 17, there existed a Barāsagān-shāh appointed by Ardashīr I. He probably ruled over the local Kurds (?). The story about the flies is one of the superstructures upon real fact which are so typical of Abū-Dulaf. In summer the banks of the Araxes must be infested with mosquitoes. The town Warthān stood on the southern bank of the Araxes; its ruins should be looked for near the ruins of the fort Altan (downstream from the Russian post Delagarda). The important town Baylaqān, now in ruins, stood on the northern bank, on the highroad to Barda'a in the present-day Mīl steppe.

Biblical references often occur in Abu-Dulaf, see notes to § 7 and § 27.

§ 17. Abū-Dulaf now skips both Ardabil, which was his destination (§ 15), and Tabriz. The association of Goliath (§ 16) with Urmiya brings him straight to Lake Urmiya. The reference to springs of petrifying water apparently applies to those of Shīramīn on the

in later Turkish : Gökche). This is the road which the Georgian troops followed under Queen Thamar (1184–1213) to punish the Shaykh of Ardabil for his incursion. However, the itinerary which Abu-Dulaf quotes is neither in a straight line nor quite clear.

Vayzūr (Armenian Vayots'-dzor) is the Armenian principality of western Siunik', to the south of Lake Sevan. The same name occurs in Balādhuri, 195, in the form of Ḥiṣn-Wayṣ.

Qabān (Armenian *Kapan*, cf. the present-day Kafan) lay more to the south and nearer to the Araxes.

Khajīn (Armenian *Khachēn*) was an Armenian principality immediately south of Barda'a.

So far Abu-Dulaf's road is understandable, but *al-Kay'* and *Ḥ.ndān* are more difficult. Their parallels can be found only in the list of Transcaucasian and Armenian tributaries of Marzubān b. Muḥammad quoted in I. Hauqal, 254 :... Sanḥarīb, known as Ibn Sawāda, lord of *al-R.b'* consented (to pay a tribute of) 300,000 dirhams and presents besides that ; ... Abul-Qāsim al-Jaydhānī, from his districts and from his arrears—400,000 dirhams ; he wished (this sum) to be diminished, but through his begging made it worse, because, for the annoyance caused by what he did, the agreed sum was increased by 300,000 and 100 sets of clothes of Rūmī brocade".[1] The list is dated 344/955 and apparently is the result of Marzubān's campaigning "near al-Bāb" in the same year, see Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 161, transl. V, 172. The date more or less corresponds to the presumable time of Abū-Dulaf's journey. الريع definitely resembles الربع and حندان, جيدان . The two princes of I. Hauqal's list were apparently Christians and it is to be remembered that among the princes of Alvank' (ancient Caucasian Albania, and especially its later rump in the region of Part'av=Barda'a), there was a prince *Savada* (surnamed Ishxan), whose son Youhan (surnamed *Senek'erim*) restored the kingdom (some time in the 10th century), as claimed by Moses Kalankatvatsi in his *History of the Alvans*, III, ch. 22 (Russian translation by Patkanian, p. 279). In another passage on Transcaucasian rulers I. Hauqal, p. 250, quotes the name of *Sanḥarīb*, lord of

[1] See now in detail Minorsky, *Caucasica* IV, in ***BSOAS***, 1953, XV/3.

The western designation of the town, Baku, is truer to the original Islamic باكويه Ist. 290 (MS.C), or باكه (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 25) than the late Persian form (apparently of Safavid times) بادكوبه *Bādkūba* which is based on a popular etymology ("swept by winds"). In the ancient Armenian province P'aytakaran, ill-defined but stretching along the lowers course of the Araxes, there existed a canton whose name appears in Armenian sources as At'li-, or At'xi-, or At'shibagavan, see Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnames*, 1904, pp. 351, 411. In the whole region such a name (in Persian **Ataxshi-bagavān*, "the fire of the place of gods") would suit only the peninsula of Baku. One might perhaps find a philological explanation for the reduction of this name to the form Bākūya, but in the above-mentioned passage of Levond (§ 9) on the invasion of P'aytakaran by the Huns (Khazars) it is clearly said that "(the commander) crossed the Araxes into *Persia* and destroyed Artavēt (Ardabil), Gandzak-Shahastan, the region called At'shi-Baguan, Spatar-Peroz and Ormizd-Peroz". In this case *Ātaxsh-i Bagavān* lay south of the Araxes and possibly designated Shīz (see above § 5).

For the administrative terminology one can notice that from Samīrān Abū-Dulaf returned (*via* Gilan) to Azarbayjan (namely Mūqān), that Baku is quoted under Sharvān, and Tiflis under Armenia. Perhaps the "return to Azarbayjan" also means that, after a long *détour*, Abū-Dulaf proceeded to Ardabil.

§ 14. Cf. Yāqūt I, 857. See Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *E. I.* Even after the execution of the local ruler Isḥaq b. Isma'īl al-Qurashi (in 238/852) by the order of Mutawakkil, Tiflis remained in the hands of the Muslims until under Bagrat IV (1027–72) the Georgians succeeded in recovering their capital. Only in 515/1121 was it finally occupied by David II. Mas'ūdī II, 66, who wrote in 332/943, speaks of the isolated position of Tiflis which was surrounded by non-Muslim territories. This would explain Abu-Dulaf's introductory sentence and the impossibility of his visiting the cave in question.

§ 15. The direct road from Tiflis to Ardabil passes through the Armenian highlands of Siunik' (in the neighbourhood of Lake Sevan,

and *Tārom* in E. I. These princes were related by marriage to the older Jastānid kings of Daylam. In the begining of the 4th/10th century, when a crowd of adventurers from Gīlān and the adjoining highlands (Daylam) expanded to northern Iran and founded numerous principalities, the Būyids (Buwayhids) occupied Rayy, Istakhr and finally Baghdad. The region to the north-west of their dominions (i.e. Azarbayjan and its dependencies) remained outside their control and was occupied by the Musāfirids and their rivals. The district Ṭarm (in Persian : *Tārom*) which lies on the Safīd-rūd, on the communication line between Azarbayjan and Gilan, was the original fief of the family. In 330/941 the sons of Muḥammad b. Musāfir imprisoned their father in a castle and split the house into two branches: Vahsūdān remained in Tārom, while Marzubān, pursuing more ambitious plans, conquered Azarbayjan and parts of Transcaucasia. Abū-Dulaf refers to these events as being known in his time "to the far and near". While allowing for some exaggeration on the part of our author, we must admit that several authors confirm the importance of SAMĪRĀN. In a letter addressed to Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād it is compared with the famous Alamut (*ukht qalʿat Alamūt*), see Yaqut III, 149-150. Muqaddasi, p. 360, refers to its embellishments. Nāṣir-i Khusrau (in 437/1045), *Safarnāma*, ed. Schefer, pp. 4-5, speaks of the citadel overlooking the borough and girt by three walls. Of European travellers only Häntzsche visited the ruins of Samīrān which, however, he failed to identify, see Brugsch, *Reise d. preussischen Gesandschaft*, 1862, II, 471-2.

Ḥamdullah Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 205, confirms the abundance of *zājāt* in the two Tāroms.

§ 13. The distance from Manjil (downstream from Samirān) to Gilan and thence along the coast to Bākū is about 320 miles, which gives a likely proportion of 4 miles to a farsakh. The passage on BĀKŪYA (Baku) is quoted in Yāqūt, I, 477. Our text gives *duhn al-zanbaq* which can refer to some perfumed salve (?) ; Yaqut gives *duhn al-ziʾbaq* "quicksilver salve" but the latter is gray and would hardly be compared with "white petrol".

The whole paragraph does not inspire much confidence and may be a purely literary development of the group of names *al-Shīz wa-Alrān* which he may have found in some early copy of Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* (completed in 332/943).

§§9–11. The only parallel I can think of for Isfandūya occurs in the account of the Khazar invasion at the time of the caliph Hishām (towards 107/725), see Balādhurī, 206, Ya'qūbī, *Historia*, 380–2. The Armenian historian Levond (8th century) reports that the Huns (Khazars) passed through Derbend and the land of the Maskut' (south of the Sammūr) and raided P'aytakaran (the province of Baylaqān on the Araxes). Then "they crossed the Araxes into Persia, destroyed Artavēt (Ardabīl), Gandzak-Shahastan (Gandzak in the south-eastern corner of Lake Urmiya), the region called At'shi-Bagavan, Spatar-Perozh and Ormizd-Perozh", see Russian translation by Patkanian, p. 72. As *At'shi-Bagavan* ("the place of the divine fire") seems to correspond to Shīz=Takht-i Sulayman (§5), one might look for Spatar-Perozh (var. Spandaran-Perozh) in its neighbourhood. *Isfandūya* has some likeness to *Spatar/Spandaran*, but there is nothing to indicate the location of the latter for the toponymy of these parts has entirely changed under the influence of Turkish tribes. Unless Abū-Dulaf is speaking of another out-of-the-way excursion, he must have travelled to Zanjān and Tārom along the route followed by Sir H. Rawlinson, see JRGS, 1840, X, 57, across Angūrān. This district and Uriyāt (Oyrat) which neighbours on it in the north "are celebrated for the richness of their metallic stones" (Rawlinson).

The clear spelling ZHANJĀN (with Persian *zh*) is very curious. This was definitely the old pronunciation, as attested by its transcription in Armenian, see Thomas Artsruni, transl. Brosset, p. 193. The genuine character of this transcription is supported by the similar Iranian form *Mardāvīzh* given in §48 to the name known to the Arabs as *Mardāvīj*. As it is unexpected for Abu-Dulaf to use a Persian character, the two forms must be due to the Persian scribe of the Mashhad MS., see above p. 27.

§12. Cf. Yāqūt III, 148. The paragraph is interesting as referring to the home of the Musāfirid dynasty, see Minorsky, *Musāfirī*

In another passage of the *Cave of treasures*, X, 33, Nimrod is described as the first fire-worshipper. He saw a fire rising from the ground and worshipped it. The king **Sīsān** found a spring in Azarbayjan and placed (a statue) of a white horse over it, and bathers in the spring worshipped the image. This collection of stories is interesting as a series of motifs out of which our §7 was developed. Several other paragraphs (§§16, 17, 20, 72) suggest that Abū-Dulaf was in touch with Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian circles.

Another specimen of such jumbling together of various traditions is Yaʿqūbī's account (I, 20) of Abraham's father Tārikh (Gen. XI, 26 : Terah). He lived at the time of Nimrod who was the first to worship the fire which he saw rising out of the ground. Nimrod (Herod ?) heard that a child would be born who would destroy his idols and he had all the newborn children murdered. The parents of Abraham succeeded in hiding him in a cave, etc.

§ 8. الران *al-Rān* should be read **Alarān*. The combination *al-Shīz wa-Alrān* occurs three times in Masʿūdī's *Murūj*, II, 131, 235 and IV, 74. As usual with the foreign names beginning with *al-*, this syllable was misinterpreted as the Arabic article (*al-Rān*, cf. Yaqut II, 739, just as *Alān* became *al-Lān*), whereas in point of fact even *w* should belong to the same *Vālarān. It corresponds to Greek Βαλαραθ and Armenian *Vararat*, in the description of the battle in which Khusrau Parvīz, supported by Byzantine troops, defeated Bahrām Chūbīn (in A.D. 589). In my article " Roman and Byzantine campaigns ", p. 247, I have examined the question and suggested that *Vālarān/Vararan was the name of the river now known under the Mongolian name of Jaghatu (or rather of its right affluent now called the Sārūq). It is even possible that the name was derived from the original form of Bahrām's own name : *Varahrān*. Abū-Dulaf speaks of *Alrān immediately after Shīz and he calls it a town lying by a river ; the remainder of the paragraph cannot be checked. As by Shīz our author means Takht-i Sulaymān, this would mean that in order to visit Alrān (*Vālarān) the traveller made an excursion backwards down the river before proceeding on his way towards the Caspian sea.

must be connected with the first of the three Magi kings mentioned in the Syriac "Cave of treasures" (*Ma'arrat gazze*) : "Hormizkar (Hormizdād) of Mākhōzde, king of Persia, who had the title of "king of kings", and resided below in Adhorwīgān ; Azdeger, king of Sabā, and Parwazd, king of Shebā, which lies in the East", see the text edited in Syriac and Arabic by Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, II, 237 (transl. I, 57). The text is surely an *ad hoc* adaptation of Psalm 72, vv. 9 and 10, in which the kings of Tarsus (Tarshish), Sheba and Seba are mentioned as offering gifts to the king.

Marquart, who studied the problem of the names in an amazingly learned article "Die Namen der Magier" in *Untersuchungen z. Geschichte von Ērān*, II, 1905, pp. 1-19, suggested the identification of Hurmizdād (in the Arabic version *Hurmiz-M.skī* ?) with "*Hurmizān* or *Hurmis*" who is mentioned in Muslim genealogies of the Arsacids ([1]). He further thought that this king might correspond to Artaban II (A.D. 12-38 ?), who was originally king of Atropatene but, as a son of a Parthian princess, rose to the dignity of the Parthian great king. Another candidate for identification would be his son-in-law Gotarz II (A.D. 39-51 ?). I have failed to trace the passage in which Marquart promised to develop this latter hypothesis, and personally I am more attracted by Artaban II, who was ruler both of Azarbayjan and of Mākhōze (i.e. the group of capitals Seleucia, Ctesiphon, etc.).

Abū-Dulaf gives the name of Hurmuz with the patronymics "son of Khusrau-Shīr, son of Bahrām". The reference to *Khusrau* may contain a hint at the founder of the fire-temple, cf. I. Faqīh, 246 : "*Ādhar-gushnasp is the fire of Kay-Khusrau ; it was in Azarbayjan but Anūshirvān transferred it to Shīz". However, no importance can be attached to our author's Iranian genealogies (cf. §§70, 71).

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([1]) But see Ṭabari, I, 710 : Jesus Christ was born under Sābūr b. Afqūr who ruled 53 years ; Jūdharz b. Sābūr, who attacked the Israelites, ruled 5 years ; his nephew Abzān b. Balāsh b. Sābūr, 47 years ; Jūdharz' b. Abzān, 31 years ; his brother Narsē, 34 years ; his uncle *al-Hurmuzān* b. Balāsh 48 years. Masʿūdī, II, 136 (after Abū-ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā al-Yamanī) places the birth of Jesus Christ in the 41st year of Sābūr b. Ashk. 127 years after Sābūr, *Hurmuz* b. Nayzar ascended the throne.

It is very doubtful, however, whether the temple was still functioning over three centuries later. Abū-Dulaf's account is not convincing, as it did not satisfy even his patrons. However, of the ruins of the temple there must have existed more than can be seen nowadays. According to Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 95, one could still see in the temple pictures (*ṣuwar*) representing in many colours the sky, the stars, the world, with its lands and seas, the plants, the animals, etc.

An interesting point in one report is the presence of a crescent over the temple. Such a decoration is likely enough, for over the niche of Ṭāq-i bustān (§34) there is a crescent with its horns turned upwards. On the coins too the same emblem surmounts the crowns of some Sasanian kings. Our passage is quoted in Barthold, "On the crescent as the symbol of Islam" (in Russian), in *Izvestiya Ross. Akad. Nauk*, 1918, pp. 475-7, where the author suggests that the crescent was originally the symbol of the dynasty rather than of the religion.

§§5-6 contain some interesting details but they are also very typical of Abu-Dulaf as a purveyor of marvels. He betrays himself by his affected exactitude in describing his attempt to plumb the bottomless pond to the depth of "14,000 cubits odd". Cf. similar stories in §§ 8, 60, etc.

§ 7 gives a pleasant version of the story of the wise men from the East, different from that of Masʿūdī, IV, 79-80. According to the latter, the king Kūrush (*sic*) sent three men carrying frankincense, myrrh and gold. Maryam gave them round loaves which they hid under a rock in Fars. The bread disappeared under the earth and when a well was sunk at this place two tongues of flame flared up out of it. Over that well (*mā' al-nār*) a temple was built. Masʿūdī says that the story of the Magi is found in the Gospel and that he, in his book *Akhbār al-zamān* gave a report on what the Christians and the Zoroastrians say on the subject. In our source the appearance of the fire (also as a result of Mary's gift) has been transported to Azarbayjan.

The Parthian king in 2 B.C.-A.D. 4 was the parricide Phraates IV. The ruler of Atropatene (Azarbayjan) and Armenia in 20 B.C,-A.D. 2 was Ariobarzanes. "Hurmuz b. Khusrau-shīr b. Bahrām"

and surrounded by a theatre of hills. In the centre of the castle there is a pond, the water of which flows down the slopes of the hill in several rivulets. Most significantly Abu-Dulaf calls *this* place Shīz and describes a fire-temple standing in it. Takht-i Sulaymān lies about 140 km., as the crow flies, from the south-eastern corner of Lake Urmiya. As the latter used to be called the lake of Shīz, one would expect Shīz to be situated closer to that vast expanse of water. In fact the analysis of the Greek sources on the great town of Ganzaka, where the famous fire-temple stood, definitely points to some place in the plain, most likely Laylān, which is situated about 14 km. from the said corner of Lake Urmiya. Consequently, Ganzaka (the *original* Shīz) must be a different place from the Takht-i Sulaymān described by Abū-Dulaf under the name of Shīz. I have studied the problem at great length in my article "Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene", in BSOAS, 1944, XI/4, pp. 243-65. The key to the question is given by Mas'ūdī's passage, *Murūj*, IV, 74, according to which Anushirvan transferred the fire from al-Shiz-(wa)-*Valarān to *al-birka* ("the pond"), i.e. to a new place corresponding to the present-day Takht-i Sulaymān [1]. Subsequently in common parlance this new place must have received the name of the original Shīz (Laylān). To his quotation from Abū-Dulaf Yāqūt, II, 256, made the following addition: "Someone else said that in Shīz the fire Ādharakhsh is situated, and this is a celebrated temple of the Magians. When one of their kings ascended the throne he used to make a pilgrimage to it on foot. The people of Marāgha and that region call this place Kaznā (Ganzak)", see below § 24.

The story about Abu-Dulaf's plumbing the lake would suggest that he visited the fire-temple as well. According to Balādhurī, p. 326, in the days of 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb the marzubān of Ardabil made a treaty with the Arabs stipulating that "the people of al-Shīz should not be hindered in their peculiar custom of dancing on their festal days, nor in observing their usual observances". Implicitly this would indicate that the temple was in existence about 13-23/634-44.

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[1] See also its location "between Marāgha, Zanjān, Suhravard and Daynavar".

## III

## COMMENTARY

§ 1. On the two patrons to whom Abū-Dulaf addressed his two *risālas* see Introduction. The meaning of this confused § seems to be that the author had previously compiled a report of his journey to China and India and that now he wishes to place on record "all" his other experiences. This paragraph is interesting as a cross-reference confirming the authenticity of the two *risālas*. On the disturbance in the general plan indicated by § 18 see Introduction.

§ 2. Records of minerals (few in the first *risāla*) are scattered throughout the second *risāla* but, on the whole, archaeology occupies in it an equally honourable place. I hope some specialist will go into the technicalities of Abu-Dulaf's mineralogical reports. My task has been only to give a literal version of such passages.

§ 3 stresses again Abū-Dulaf's addiction to mineralogy (condensed in Yāqūt III, 354). This interest led him to Shīz, which in fact is known for the variety of its mineral wealth. Abū-Dulaf does not explain whence and how he came to Shīz.

§ 4. Cf. Yāqūt, III, 354. To the number of minerals enumerated in § 4 should be added yellow marcassite found in the village Nimrāvar (§ 21). The valley of Takht-i Sulaymān is definitely rich in minerals. Stahl on his map, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1905, indicates the presence in it of lead and arsenic.

§ 5. There is no doubt about the location of the place which Abū-Dulaf describes under the name of "Shīz". It is the ancient (probably Parthian) fortress, now called Takht-i Sulaymān. It crowns an isolated hill standing in the middle of a lateral valley of the river Sārūq

and the space between it and the banks filled out with lead reinforced with pieces of copper (*nuḥātat al-nuḥās*). This bridge has one single span of wonderful workmanship and solidity. It was damaged (cut) by al-Misma'ī and remained in this state for a long time. No one was rich enough to restore it and this caused inconvenience to travellers and users, especially in winter and at the time of the floods. Sometimes people who knew about the bridge visited it and managed to prise off (pieces of) its leaden filling at the cost of great effort. Thus it went on for a long time until the bridge was restored and repaired by Abū ʿAbidallāh Muhammad b. Aḥmad Qummī, known as *Shaykh*, vazir of the Būyid Ḥasan. He collected craftsmen and engineers and displayed in this work energy and all his power. Men in (special) baskets (*zubul*) would reach it by means of ropes and pulleys and, when they got to the foundations, poured on the stones molten lead and iron. The arching of the vault succeeded only after some years. It is reported that besides the salary of the workmen (most of whom were conscripted men from the rural districts of Īdhaj and Isfahan) the Shaykh spent 350,000 dinars, but to those who look at the bridge and contemplate it it is "an object of imitation for the sages" (1).

(1) Here ends the second *risāla* of Abū-Dulaf and it is immediately followed by the new title : "This is the book of Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān ibn-ʿAbbas ibn-Rashīd ibn-Ḥammād, freedman of Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān, envoy of al-Muqtadir,—in which he reports what he saw in the countries of the Turks, Khazars, Rūs, Saqāliba (Slavs), Bāshqurds and others, and of their various ways of life".

from among the Persian princes and dressed them up as slave girls saying to them: "The Arab king has killed your kings and your chiefs; he will murder you when he knows about you. He was not satisfied with what he has done, until he has seized by force your queen herself, the daughter of your kings. I have made up my mind to kill him; what do you say to this?" They replied: "We obey thy hand: command us to do what thou wishest." She said: "When I have been brought into his presence, enter with me, as if you were my slave-girls, and when I have retired with him into privacy and have then struck him with the dagger, which I have on me,—have your daggers on you too!—when I do this, I say, you must finish him off." They said: "We shall do as thou wishest." When she was brought into his presence and he retired with her into privacy, heedless of the pages whom he mistook for slave-girls, she struck him with the dagger and the pages came in and slew him. Then she and the pages went to a nearby place where the king's pages and attendants were and fell upon them also.

§72. This queen **(f. 196b)** is also known as the builder of the bridge known as "KHURZĀDH's (*sic*) BRIDGE" which stands between Īdhaj and al-Rabāṭ. This bridge is one of the wonders of the world, because it is built over a dry river-bed; water runs in it only in time of floods caused by rains and then it becomes a roaring sea and spreads over the earth for over 1000 cubits and grows 150 cubits deep and its width (*fatḥ*) at the bottom becomes 10 cubits. The work on the bridge was begun from the lowest part of the foundation (*mīzān*). The bridge was fastened to the surface of the earth with lead and iron, and, as the construction rose in height, its (width) grew narrower, while the space between its surface (sides?) and the banks was filled out with iron dross (*khabath al-ḥadīd*) upon which molten lead was poured. Thus (they continued building the bridge upwards) until the said space reached the width of 40 cubits and the opening (*fatḥ*) [1] at this (level) was 112 cubits. The bridge was built on this foundation, (its surface) being at the level of the earth

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(1) Between the abutments?

§ 68. ĀSK which adjoins it consists of a town and villages. There stands here a lofty and handsome portico rising in the open country over an abundant spring of unhealthy water. Opposite this portico there is a dome some 100 cubits high, built by Qubādh. There is a mosque inside (?) it, and outside it some graves are found of the martyrs who fell at the time of the Muslim conquest. On the dome there are traces of curtains (*satā'ir*) (**f. 196 a**). In no other country have I seen a dome that was better or more solidly built. On its western gate there is a Pahlavi inscription hewn in the stone.

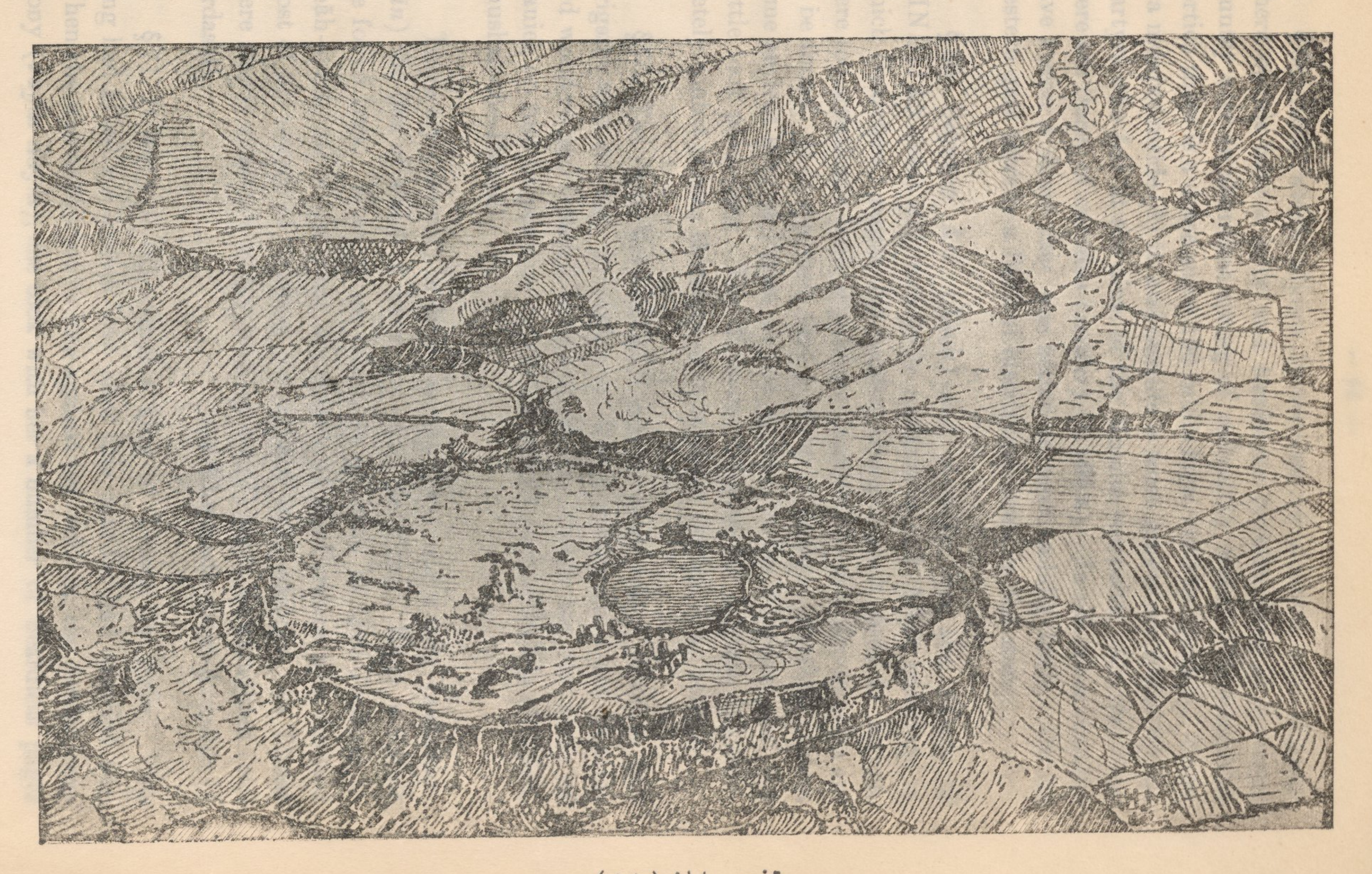
§ 69. Between Āsk (Āsuk) and Arrajān lies the village of HINDĪJĀN (*sic*) with wonderful antiquities and 'Adite buildings in which (searchers) search for hidden treasure as is done in Egypt. Here too artistically built sepulchres (*nawāwīs?*) and fire-temples are to be found. It is reported that a troop of Indians marched against some ancient king of Persia to put an end to his kingdom and the battle took place here. The Persians defeated the Indians and completely routed them ; therefore they consider this place as blessed.

§ 70. The river MASRUQĀN cuts through many districts and irrigates vast estates. It begins in Tustar where there are remains and wonders and (many) excellent things. There too the tomb of Daniel, on him be peace, is situated, but some say it is in Sūs (*Shūsh, Shushan-the-Palace).

There are (several) bridges (in this town) and a weir (*shādhurwān*) the like of which I have not seen elsewhere. Many minerals are found here. Most of its buildings go back to Q.rd-Jushnas b. Shāh-mard, one of the great dignitaries of the Persians who devoted most of his energy to building strong and solid edifices. In Tustar there stands a famous bridge built by his (?) sister Khwaradhām (*sic*) Ardashīr. (or Khwaradh umm-Ardashīr ?)

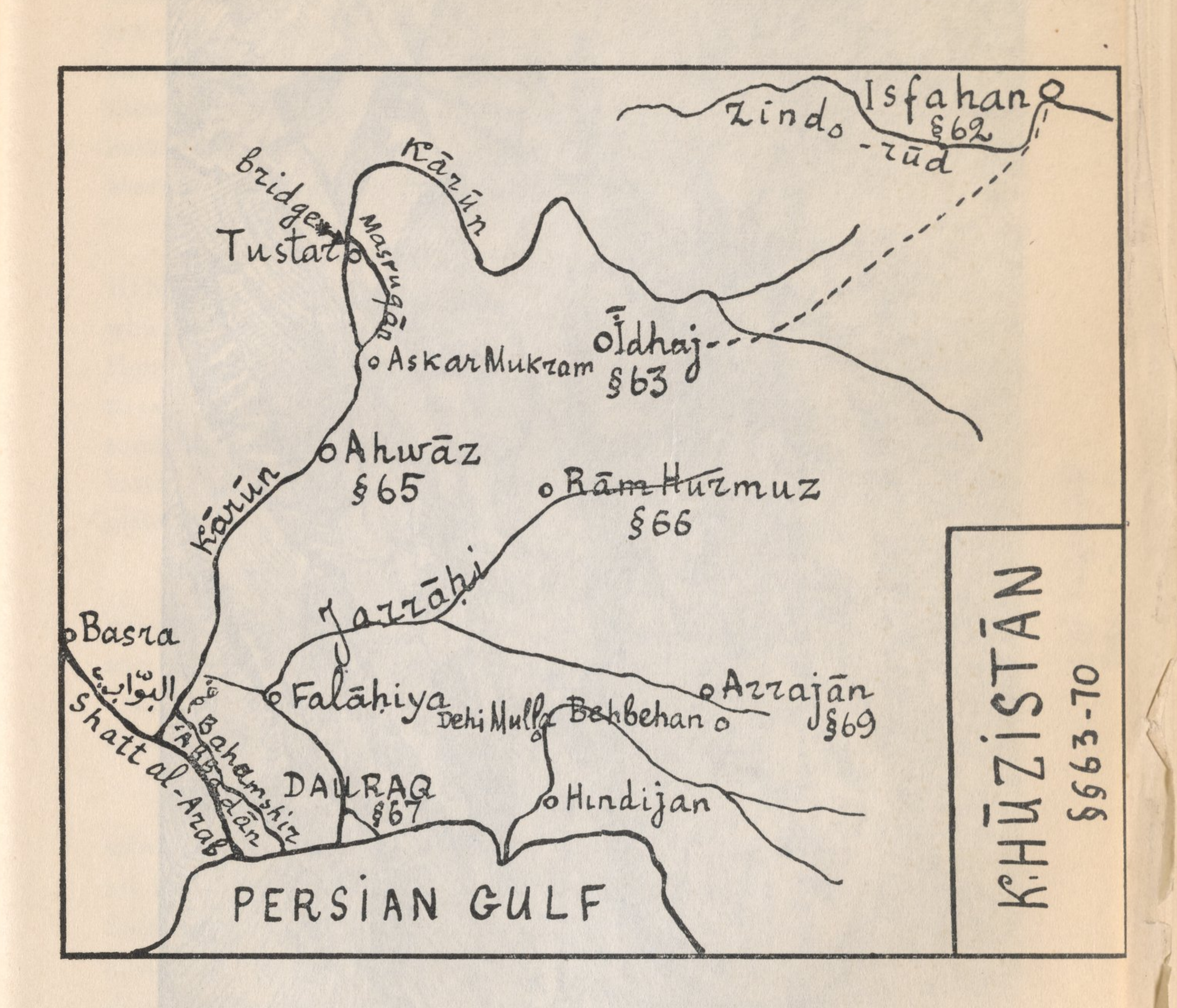
§ 71. It was she who killed a king of Yemen by guile. This king had killed her brother and after this murder had married her. When she was conducted to him against her will in the bridal ceremony (*zuffat ilayhi*), she took with her a number of beardless pages

**PLATE V**



تخت سليمان (شيز)

Takht-i Sulaymān


Isfahan
§62
Zindo-rūd
Kārūn
bridge
Masruqān
Tustar
Īdhaj
§63
Askar Mukram
Ahwāz
§65
Rām Hurmuz
§66
Kārūn
Jarrāhī
Basra
البوّابي
Shatt al-Arab
Bahamshir
'Abbādān
Falāhiya
Dehi Mulla
Behbehan
Arrajān
§69
DAURAQ
§67
Hindijan
PERSIAN GULF
KHŪZISTĀN
§§63-70

on his way from Medina to Khorasan. There is another river in it (the province ?) which hems it in (?) on the eastern side. It comes from the valley (*wādī*) of Sūrāb (*Shūrāb).

In (Ahwāz, Khūzistān ?) there are a number of remains of the old Persian kings.

§ 66. Thence to RĀM-HORMUZ which is a famous town from which a road leads to Dauraq past the fire-temples situated in a deserted plain (*mafāza muqfara*). There (in Rām-Hormuz ?) stand wonderful ʿAdite ([1]) buildings and minerals abound in its districts. I have seldom seen salt of a stronger consistency (*aḥkamu fil-ṣanʿa*) than here.

§ 67. In DAURAQ there are ruins attributed to Qubādh b. Dārā. Dauraq abounds in game but the game pastures away from the grazing grounds of Dauraq and does not enter them by any means. They say that the special reasons for this is a talisman which Qubādh's mother had prepared for him, as he was fond of hunting on those grounds and often neglected state affairs. She had this talisman made for him so that wild beasts should keep away from the haunts where he used to hunt.

(In Dauraq ?) there are deadly (*qattāla*) pests and a person stung by them does not recover. There too are found springs of yellow sulphur of the *baḥrī* kind which is used for lighting at night. This sulphur is not found elsewhere. If borne to another place it will not shine, and if fire is brought from outside Dauraq to kindle this sulphur it consumes it altogether, whereas the Dauraq fire does not burn it up. And this is a curious and astonishing phenomenon the reason for which cannot be comprehended.

There is some complacency ([2]) in its people which is not found in other people of Ahwāz. Most of their women do not repel the hand which touches them and their men lack jealousy.

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([1]) Or "tall" (*ʿāliya*).
([2]) Or reading : **simāja* "vileness, turpitude".

man or a beast fall into it, (the victim) goes on whirling until it dies. Then the water throws it up on the bank, and it does not disappear in the water for the waves keep it afloat. This is a curious phenomenon because what falls into it does not sink and the water does not rise above it.

The collection of the *kharāj* begins here (?) one month before the Iranian New Year, which custom is contrary to what obtains elsewhere in the world. (This place ?) is remote from the action of the tides, although this is the low part of the region of Ahwāz and lies much lower than the latter. The juice-content of the sugar-cane *produced here exceeds that of the sugar produced elsewhere in (the province of) Ahwāz by four in every ten. Local sugar (*pānīdh*) is made after the mode of Sijistān (?) [1].

§ 65. SŪQ al-AHWĀZ is traversed by various streams one of which is the larger (*a'ẓam*) Tustar river which flows on one side of it. From this, another large (*azīm*) river is derived (?) which is spanned by a great bridge; above it (*'alayhā*) [2] there stands a mosque, spacious and beautiful; and near the bridge (?) there are wonderful mills and astonishing water-wheels. At the time of the rising its waters redden and flow (over) to Bāsiyān and the sea. (The province) is also traversed by the river Masruqān which too is taken from the Tustar river and flows through 'ASKAR-MUKRAM; the colour of its water is white in the days of decrease, and it whitens still more in winter (**f. 195 b**) in the days of increase; the sugar (produced) on it is the best in Ahwāz.

On the larger (*a'ẓam*) river (of Tustar) there is a fine *shādhurwān* (weir), wonderful, of perfect workmanship, made of blocks (specially) fitted and it dams the waters of several rivers. Opposite it stands the mosque of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā who planned it when he was passing

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[1] Reading not quite clear *s.jzī*, Yaqut, I, 417, reads: ***wa fānīdhuhu** yu'malu 'amala al-mukrānī wal-sanjarī* (read: *sijzī?*). The *pāndīh* of Muk rān was well-known. Perhaps Sijistān was inaccurately meant to cover Mukrān as well.

[2] The feminine *'alayhā* seems to refer to the bridge. As the following paragraph shows, *'alayhā* is equivalent to *bi-izā'iha* "opposite it".

stalk of it weighing up to 50 maunds ([1]) and more. My listeners will take this for an exaggeration on my part, though I have stated only what I have witnessed. The quinces also grow to a large size; I weighed one and it weighed more than 420 dirhams odd. In the centre of the town stands an old town ([2]) with high walls, huge moat and awe-inspiring towers.

§ 61. Coterminous with Nīshāpūr is HERAT from which good Khorasanian raisins and apricots ([3]) are exported. Alexander is said to have built its walls and the old walls of Iṣfahān.

§ 62. IṢFAHĀN has an equable climate (**f. 195 a**), its air is pure and free from insects. Dead bodies do not decay in its soil. The smell of the meat is not altered and, if a potful is left for a month after it has been cooked, it does not deteriorate. Sometimes a man digging a pit for some purpose comes upon (?) a grave a thousand years old and the dead body in it has remained in its natural state without any alteration. The soil is the best in the world. In Iṣfahān an apple remains fresh for 7 years and weevils do not destroy the wheat as elsewhere. There are many beautiful remains in Iṣfahān.

§ 63. Between Iṣfahān and Ahwāz stands the bridge of ĪDHAJ which is one of the wonders of the world: it is built of blocks of stone and spans a dry river (-bed) of great depth. Īdhaj is often visited by earthquakes and has many minerals. There grows in Īdhaj a kind of alcaline plant (*qāqullā*) ([4]), the pressed juice of which is indicated for gout. There also stands an *important fire-temple of which the fire continued to burn till the time of Rashīd.

§ 64. Two farsakhs lower down (*dūnahā*), in the direction of Basra, there is a whirlpool ([5]) at the confluence of several rivers. It is known as *Fam al-bawwāb* "The door-keeper's mouth". Should a

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([1]) See commentary.

([2]) Perhaps a translation of Persian *kuhan-diz* "citadel".

([3]) Reading **mishmish* for *qishmish*.

([4]) A. Ch. Achundow, 1893: "*salsola fruticosa*, Salzkraut"; Anglice: "saltwort, or glasswort".

([5]) I thought of substituting * *daur* for * *ṣaur* but Yaqut II, 416, expressly insists on *ṣaur*: *kull mā' dā'ir yusammā ṣauran*.

stands the residence (*dār*) of Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba, measuring a square *mīl*. In one of its gardens is found the tomb of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, may God be pleased with him, and the tomb of Rashīd. Between Tūs and Nīshāpūr, there is an awe-inspiring castle, huge and solid, and I have not seen any (other) like it. It is surrounded by walls and (displays) solidity (or perfection) of construction (**f. 194 b**). Inside it, separate courts (*maqāsīr*) are to be found which dazzle the human imagination, arches, covered galleries, treasuries and private chambers. I made enquiries about it and consulted local people who all agreed that it was built by (one of) the South-Arabian kings (*tubbaʿ*). He was marching from the Yemen to China and on reaching this place decided to leave behind his family, treasures and stores in a safe place and to travel light. So he built this castle and brought to it a large canal of which traces are still visible. In it he placed his treasures, stores and family and went on to China. He obtained what he wished and on his return took away some of what he had deposited in the castle but some of his property and stores remained in secret places. The particulars of the latter were written (in a list) which remained with him. And thus time went on and caravans passed by and travellers halted but no one knew that there was anything (in the ruins) until (the treasure) was unearthed. It was Asʿad b. Abī-Yaʿfur, chief of the Kahlān, who discovered it in our days, for the list fell into his hands and he sent some men to this castle who extracted the treasure and carried it to him.

§ 60. In NĪSHĀPŪR there are no Arab or non-Arab remains in evidence, except some buildings which a Ṭāhirid built in imitation of ancient constructions. The water of Nīshāpūr has the property of provoking desire, or hatred, and few people have escaped this effect, except by reducing the drinking of the water to a minimum. The said property is widely known to the inhabitants and it mostly effects the strangers [1]. Their women are incontestably beautiful and seldom keep aloof from those who desire them.

In Nīshāpūr there are copper mines superior to any others in the world. There too grows rhubarb of great size, particularly large, one

(¹) See *yanālu* in § 53

ambergris, camphor etc., but not of aloes because it loses its scent (?) there. (**f. 194 a**). It has black stones which give good whiteness to lead. In Bisṭām there are small snakes which leap (to attack) and plenty of flies causing annoyance. Its wine is green. On a mound opposite a stream there stands a spacious castle with high walls and numerous structures and recesses (*maqāṣīr* "courts"?). It is attributed to Shāpūr Dhul-aktāf. Hens in Bisṭām do not eat grain (or, siftings ?).

§ 57. From Bisṭām I turned away to the left and travelled to JURJĀN by hill and dale crossing fearful rivers. Jurjān is a pleasant town situated on a large river on the border (?) between the plains and the mountains and between land and sea. There are palm-trees, olives, walnuts, pomegranates, sugar-cane and oranges. Its silk is very good and does not deteriorate through dyeing. There are many stones in Jurjān with wonderful properties and huge snakes which frighten him who sees them but are harmless.

§ 58. Thence I travelled in the open country (*mafāza*) of KHWĀRAZM and saw here many traces of Arab and non-Arab kings. Here there are plenty of trees and woods. Snow does not fall here but it rains continuously and hardly ever stops. (This open country) adjoins the districts of Nishapur and a district known as AS.S.QĀN (*al-Shaqqān, Suqān ?). Some years (ago) over thirty of its villages sank (into the ground). A hurricane passed over *Suqān, and lifting its red sand [1] carried it in the air over the distance of 150 (farsakhs?). This is what I witnessed and what I learnt myself because I crossed this district when it was extremely flourishing and had numerous gardens and running (*takharruq*) streams. But hardly had I settled in Nishapur when the news reached me that (Suqān ?) had sunk and I went back to look at it. I saw that it had sunk into the earth to (a depth) of some 100 man-heights or more and waters were flooding it coming from (every) side [2].

§ 59. TUS̄ consists of four towns, two of which are large and two small. Tūs has famous remains of Islamic buildings. In it there

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[1] Reading **ramlan*, instead of *rajulan*.
[2] ****Takharraqat-hu min jawānibihi.***

as much as 50 dinars. Simnan also produces veils of black silk of wonderful make, sold at 200 dinars or more per piece. It is reported that a woman who makes them goes blind from the fineness and the amount of work (required).

§ 55. DĀMGHĀN is a fine town abounding in fruit of which there is no end. Winds blow here without interruption day and night. In the town there stands a famous weir built by the ancient Persians for dividing the waters. The water comes out of a cave up on a mountain and, as it passes through the weir, is divided into 120 streams for the use of twenty districts (*rustāq*). None of the streams can be increased in favour of the owner and it is impossible to join one stream to another. The weir is a very curious construction and I have not seen the like of it elsewhere nor have I witnessed a better (arrangement). This place is called QARYAT al-JAMMĀLĪN ("Village of camel-men"). There is a spring there from which flows blood and there is no doubt about it for it possesses every property of blood. If quicksilver is put into it, it immediately becomes like a stone, dry, solid, and particoloured. This village is also called Fanjār (*Finjān).

In the countryside of Dāmghān grows the apple called *qūmisī*, very good, red (or) nearly red, which is exported to ʿIrāq (?) (¹). Damghan possesses mines of iron sulphate and salt, but not of sulphur, and a good gold mine.

§ 56. Thence to a large village resembling a borough called BISṬĀM to which *Abū-Yazīd Bisṭāmī, God's mercy upon him, belonged. Good apples known *bisṭāmī* are exported to *ʿIrāq. Bisṭām has two features : one never sees a lover among its inhabitants, and should anyone come there with passion in his heart and drink of its water, love will depart from him. The other feature is that no one there suffers from ophthalmia. Bisṭām possesses no minerals except for some magnesium. The bitter water when taken on an empty stomach is useful against bad breath. If used in enemas it stops hidden hemorrhoids. Bisṭām (produces) perfumes of musk,

(¹) The notion of *ʿIrāq al-ʿajam* did not exist at the time of Abū-Dulaf.

It rains without ceasing in Ṭabaristān throughout the winter and most of the summer months. Ṭabaristān possesses numerous mineral springs and (produces) sugar-cane, inferior to that of Khuzistan. Its roses lack fragrance. A group of local people try earnestly to excel in astronomy. In Ṭabaristān there are mines of iron sulphate and alum, and the white variety of the latter is useful for bleaching black silver; it is peculiar to this place. Nowhere else does one find litharge (*mardāsanj*, "dross of lead") produced (better than) here. Wonderful clothes (*aksiyā*) are manufactured here, each suit valued at a number of dinars. Similarly their kerchiefs are renowned in every land.

§ 53. Ṭabaristān adjoins JURJĀN. By the highroad from Rayy one travels to Jurjān through the open country (*mafāza*) having on the left (northern) side the mountains of Ṭabaristān. On one, of the latter, off the stretch (of the road) between SIMNĀN and DAMGHĀN, there is a cleft from which, at a certain time of the year, winds blow upon the travellers following the highroad, and if it has caught someone it will kill him, even if he is wrapped up in furs. This cleft is only one farsakh from the road and its mouth measures some 400 cubits but the range within which it does harm is 2 farsakhs, and (men and beasts) affected by (the wind) become like rotten (bones, *kal-ramīm*). The name of this cleft and of the neighbouring part of the highway is al-MĀDARĀN (*sic*). I remember well how I travelled by it with a party of some 200 men and a greater number than this of (saddle) beasts. The wind blew upon us and of the men and beasts no one, save myself and another man, survived. This was because our steeds were good and brought us to an arch and a cistern which lay beside the road. We took shelter under the arch and remained there in a stupor three days and nights, being unconscious. Then we awoke and discovered that our horses had perished but the Almighty sent us a caravan which carried us on, and truly we had been on the brink of death (**f. 193 b**).

§ 54. SIMNĀN is a small town but it has a large population and abounds in fruit. Its waters are digestive. There valuable kerchiefs are produced with figured borders, the price of one kerchief reaching

which is less than intelligible but more than unknown, and he who hears it imagines that it is the speech of some Bedouins and the language of human beings. The smoke which is taken for the breath is simply the vapour of that sulphurous spring. And this combination gives an air of plausibility to what the common people allege.

In one of the branches of this mountain I have found traces of an old building and round it some graves, showing that these were the summer quarters of some Persian kings (of yore).

When the people of this region see that ants have laid in stores of grain in great quantities (*wa tukthiru min dhalika*), they guess that that year there will be famine and death. When rains have lasted too long and annoyed them, and they wish to stop them, they pour goat's milk on the fire and the rain stops. I have several times tested this belief of theirs (*daʿwāhum*) and have found that they spoke the truth. And once someone has seen the top of this mountain free from snow, there will be certainly discord and bloodshed on the side which one sees denuded. This portent is also correct by common acceptance.

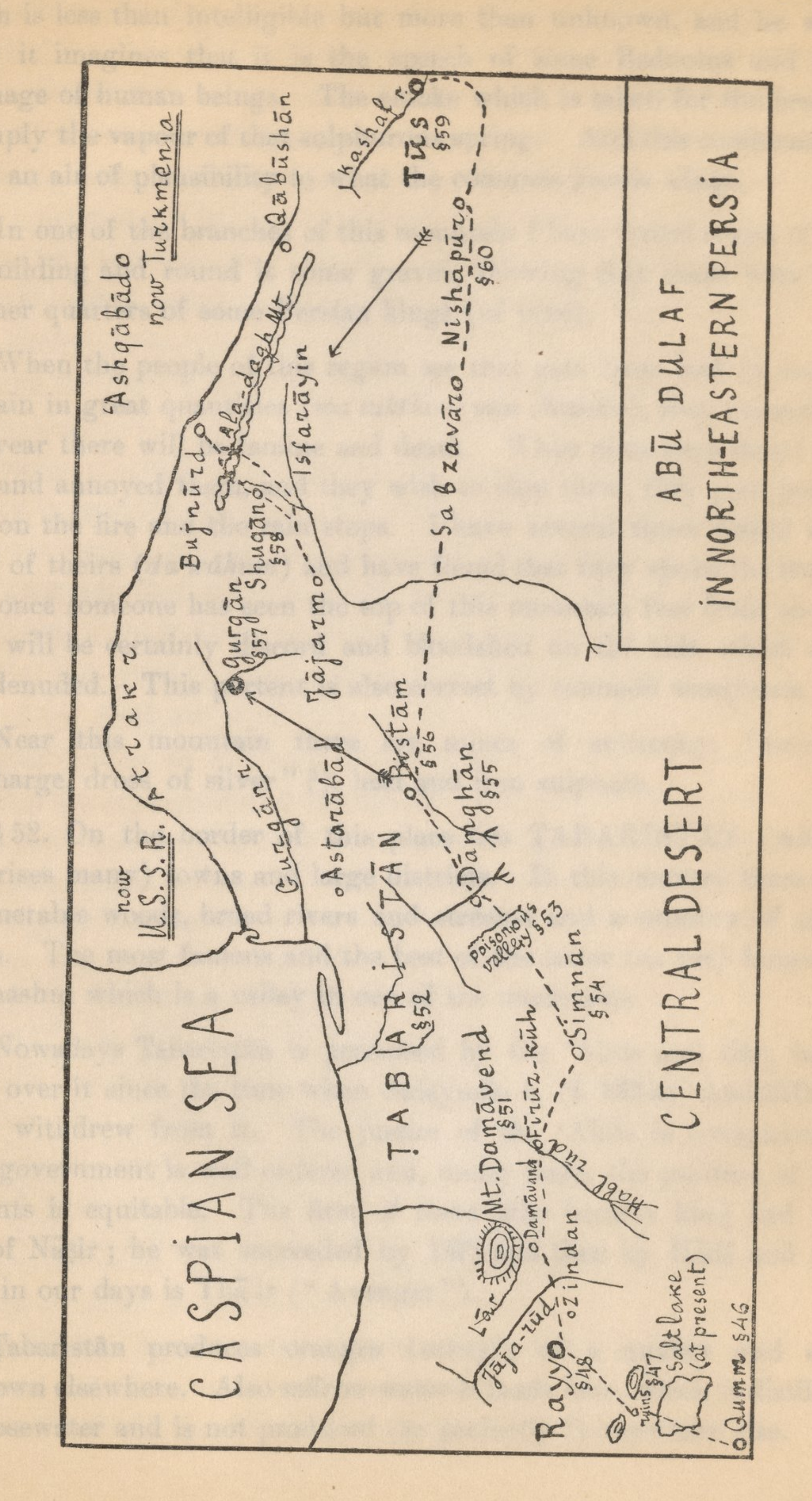
Near this mountain there are mines of antimony, **martak* ("litharge, dross of silver" ?), lead and iron sulphate.

§ 52. On the border of this place lies ṬABARISTĀN (which comprises many) towns and large districts. In this country there are innumerable woods, broad rivers and streams and a number of gold mines. The most famous and the best of the latter (as yet) found is in Khashm which is a valley in one of the mountains.

Nowadays Ṭabaristān is possessed by the ʿAlids and they have ruled over it since the time when Sulaymān b. (**f. 193 a**) ʿAbdullāh b. Ṭāhir withdrew from it. The justice of the ʿAlids is conspicuous, their government is well ordered and, under them, the position of the peasants is equitable. The first of them who became king had the title of Nāṣir; he was succeeded by Dāʿī and then by Hādī and the ruler in our days is Thāʾir ("Avenger").

Ṭabaristān produces oranges (*utrujj*) of a quality and size unknown elsewhere. Also saffron-water is made here, which is distilled like rosewater and is not produced (so perfectly ?) anywhere else.

PLATE III



ABŪ DULAF
IN NORTH-EASTERN PERSIA
CASPIAN SEA
now U.S.S.R.
now Turkmenia
'Ashqābād
Atrak r.
Bujnūrd
Qabūshān
Kashaf r.
Tūs
§59
Nishapūr
§60
Sabzavār
Isfarāyin
'Ala-dagh Mt.
Shugān
§58
Jājarm
Gurgān
§57
Gurgān r.
Astarābād
Bistām
§56
Dāmghān
§55
TABARISTĀN
§52
Poisonous valley
§53
Simnān
§54
Mt. Damāvend
§51
Damāvand
Fīrūz-kūh
Habl r.
Zindān
Lār
Jāja-rūd
Rayy
§48
ruins §47
Salt lake (at present)
Qumm §46
CENTRAL DESERT

abounds) in trees, mineral springs, tributaries (?) and woods, and its waters flow towards Khwār-i Rayy. In Vīma a strong wind blows day and night on certain days of the year for about 3 months. Nothing protects men from it and sometimes it brings death to those whom it overtakes on the road or in the open. The inhabitants of Vīma withdraw from it to a nearby mountain which serves them as a screen against the wind until the period is over and they can return home.

Over Dunbāvand towers an extremely high mountain on which snow does not disappear either in winter or in summer. No one can climb to the top or even approach it. It it known as Bivarāsf's Mountain and travellers see it from Marj al-qalʿa and from the pass of Hamadhān. He who looks at it from Rayy thinks that it overlooks him at a distance of one or two farsakhs, whereas it is 30 farsakhs away. The common people say that Solomon, son of David, on both of whom be peace, imprisoned in it one of the rebellious demons (*shayṭān*) whose name was Ṣakhr ("Rock")-the-Rebel. Others affirm that it was king Afrīdhūn who imprisoned Bivarāsb in it and the common people say that the smoke rising from a cave (**f. 192 b**) in the mountain (is his breath, and to the same effect they say that the fire which they see in the cave is from) his eyes and that growling is also heard from the cave [1]. I (wanted to) check this report by observation (*irtaṣadtu*) ; so I stayed at the place and climbed half-way up the mountain doing so with great pain and danger to myself. I do not think anyone will (ever) go farther than the place I reached, nay, even that anyone had come so far. I observed the mountain and saw a large limpid spring round which there lay petrified sulphur. When the sun rose and the scene brightened, there appeared a fire (in the mountain), and by its side a stream flowing down the mountain. The latter is swept by various winds, and discordant voices (were heard) in conversation, with a regular rhythm (*iqāʿāt mutanāsiba*), now resembling the neighing of horses, now the braying of asses, and now the speech of men. To a listener it sounds like loud talking

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[1] One line is missing from the MS., see above p. 3. I have restored it from Yaqut, II, 606. Lower down our text also explains that the smoke is Bivarāsp's breath.

man that the reason was that the sword with which Yaḥyā b. Zayd, on whom be peace, was killed, had been washed in its waters.

The inhabitants (produce) *rāzī*-textiles which are not woven anywhere else in the world, and I saw a piece of (such a) textile measuring about 200 spans which was sold for 10,000 dirhams. The inhabitants are wicked and ignorant (but) clever (in arts ?). They possess the (craft of) digging underground in which no one else equals them. Some of them work underground passages several farsakhs long. They make underground galleries under such streams as the Tigris and other great rivers. "The Rayy tunnels" are proverbial. There is a foolhardy inclination among (the inhabitants) towards bloodshed and murder.

To Rayy belongs a *rustāq* called Qaṣrān lying amid high mountains. When its people refuse to pay the *kharāj*, the government is powerless, despite the fact that they (give) hostages to the lord of Rayy. Most of the fruit coming to Rayy is from these mountains.

The rose remains in Rayy for 4 months ; apricots (*mishmish*) and plums are eaten (**f. 192 a**) even for a longer period. Rayy has small mineral springs, useful for mange, and mines still unopened (*khafiyya*). The territory of Rayy adjoins the mountains of Banū-Qārin and Dunbāvand (Damāvand), and the highlands of Daylam and Ṭabaristān.

In one of its mountains I saw a lake about a *jarīb* in size, into which the waters of the (converging) rivers and of the system of their torrents are drained in winter and in spring. The water is at the same level at both seasons, despite the fact that on a single day in winter so much water flows into it that, were it to spread over the earth, it would form a roaring river. Round this lake are to be seen fields of daffodils, violets and roses, and close to it remains of an ancient castle of which only the walls and the dome over the entrance are left, and I found no one to inform me about it.

§ 51. DUNBĀVAND consists of two towns called VĪMA and SHALAMA (*Shalanba) each with a cathedral mosque. Between them lie numerous villages and high mountains. The two towns are separated by the wonderful river called Hīr (*Habr). (Its valley

§49. There was in (Rayy ?) a Magian who died in 333/944 whom I knew. For years he was the purveyor to the army of Khorasan with its followers (* *atbāʿ*) and its officers (*mutaṣarrif*). He supplied extremely good wine with other necessaries, such as mutton (lambs), robes of honour (*khilʿa*), delicious food and fruit. It is said that the value of the vessels in which the wine was issued from his house amounted to 50,000 dirhams yearly (**f. 191 b**). A feature of his generosity was that whenever a party of strangers, be they nobles or commoners, and in whatever clothes they were clad, came to ask him for wine, he set his seal on wax or clay ordering his keeper to give each of them a bottle of 19 *raṭls* with 5 dirhams for buying fruit, fresh and dried (1). He never refused anyone, and there was no one in our time like him and his benefactions are widely known.

[*We think that this report too is one of Abu-Dulaf's pecadilloes*] (2).

A number of scholars, calligraphers and poets were natives of Rayy. Among them were rulers and wealthy people (*tunnāʾ*), such as Juraysh b. Aḥmad who was the king (3) of 1000 villages in which there was not a *jarīb* ill-gotten, or received as a fief (*iqṭāʿ*) or grant (*īghār*). When he came to Baghdad his usual treasures (4) alone were carried on 100 camels and, when he waited on the vazir, a prayer-carpet was spread out for him, which was not done for anyone of other kings (5).

§50. The waters of Rayy are palatable (but ?) insalubrious. There is also a stream there called Sūrīn and I noticed that the inhabitants refused to drink of it, considering it of ill omen and would not approach it. I enquired about the cause and was told by an old

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(1) Or (reading : *al-fākiha*) : " 5 dirhams' worth ".

(2) Remark by the original editor.

(3) Probably " owner " but the word *malik* is supported by the later *mulūk*.

(4) *Khazāʾinuhu fī al-ṭibb* " treasures appropriate to his station "? Arabic dictionaries explain *ṭibb* as *shaʾn*, *daʾb*. See Lane : " state, condition, custom, habit, wont ".

(5) Perhaps : " (coming) from any other kings ".

§ 47. Thence to RAYY, in a salt desert studded with *rabāṭs* (fortified carvansarais), observation points (*manāẓir*?) and garrisons([1]).

In the centre of the desert there stands a huge ʿAdite stronghold, of awe-inspiring construction with towers (*abraja*?) of unusual size and height ([2]). Its walls are high and wide and built of large bricks. Inside it there are oblong vaults and arches. Its court occupies an area of two *jarīb* or more and on one of its columns is written : " Each brick of the bricks of this castle is worth (has cost) 1 2/3 *dirhams*, 3 *riṭls* of bread, 1 *dānaq* of condiments and 1 bottle of pure wine. If you believe this, (well and good) ; otherwise let (the non-believer) butt his head against the columns, if he wishes ".

This (DAYR) al-JIṢṢ is known (in Persian) as *Dayr-i gachīn*, and around it there are large cisterns hewn in the rock, and there are no remains of the non-Arabs because the Arabs have obliterated all traces of the ancient Persians and diminished the (number) of their buildings.

§ 48. In the centre of RAYY there is also a wonderful town with iron gates, high walls and a cathedral mosque. In the centre there rises a tall mound with a strong castle built by Rāfiʿ b. Harthama and now lying in ruins. Above the town towers the mountain called Ṭabarak on which ancient Persian buildings and fire-temples are found. Rayy possesses gold and silver mines but revenue from them does not cover the expense.

Towards the east of Rayy there is a place called *Jīlābādh with buildings, porticos, high arches, ponds and wonderful pleasances. It was built by Mardavīzh (*sic*) and it is clear to the onlooker that it is an ancient foundation of the times of Chosroes. In it stands a large and dreadful prison with a deep moat (*baḥr*) round it. Above it, on an earthen platform, stands a mud fort in which it is impossible to make a tunnel and no malefactor can escape from it by any artifice. I have not seen any forts of this kind similar to it.

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([1]) Reading : *masāliḥ* for *maṣāliḥ* (as often in geographical texts).

([2]) Reading : **al-ʿuluww* for *al-ʿalā*.

There are also in Nihavand noble remains of the ancient Persians. In their centre there is a wonderful citadel on an elevation. There too are tombs of the Arabs who suffered martyrdom in the early days of Islam, such as the tomb of *ʿAmr ibn Maʿdīkarib. According to the experts the water of Nihāvand is salubrious and nutritious (*marī-ghadhī). There too willows are found from which polosticks are made ; nowhere else is there anything similar to be found as regards strength and quality.

It is reported that an envoy sent to Ma'mūn from the king of Greece, when the former was in Merv, handed him a letter, and when Ma'mūn read it he gave the envoy a detachment of his army and wrote for him a letter to the governor of Nihavand saying that he should be allowed to do whatever he wished. When the envoy came to the governor the latter said : " Do as you please ", and he went to the eastern gate and measured the distance between its two posts and then, in the middle of the measured distance, dug to the depth of some 20 cubits where he reached a large stone. He ordered it to be removed and when this was done, behold, there was a pleasant chamber under it and in it two locked golden caskets. He took them and went back to Ma'mūn. In the company of the envoy Ma'mūn sent his men who visited the master (of the envoy) and no one knew what was in the two caskets.

§ 45. Next one goes to KARAJ where there are no remains of the time of Chosroes but there are ruins of (buildings erected by) the family of Abū-Dulaf (al-ʿIjli) and his two sons ; they are fine and lofty and point to a great kingdom. Karaj has (numerous) sources and springs and it lies on the highroads connecting Ahwāz with Rayy, and Isfahān with Hamadhān.

§ 46. Next comes QUMM, a new Islamic town, with no remains of the non-Arabs (*aʿājim*). It was built by Ṭulayḥa b. al-Aḥwaṣ Ashʿari. There are no wells on earth comparable to those of Qumm with their cold and digestive water. It is reported that sometimes snow is seen in Qumm in summer. The buildings are of burnt bricks and have extremely pleasant *sardābs* (underground chambers for the hot season) **(f. 191a)**.

no mineral springs and no mines, except quarries of emery which have been opened for the use (of the inhabitants ?) ([1]).

§ 42. Beyond the village of ABŪ-AYYŪB known as the "Platform" (*dukkān*) there lies, at a farsakh's distance, a village. In it there is a lake which is insignificant to look at but which is bottomless and they say that a Persian king was drowned in it. His mother travelled thither with much money and distributed gifts (*raghā'ib*) to those who would bring out the body or some of his bones. The divers did their best but in view of the depth did not reach the bottom. On seeing this the mother ordered the lake to be filled in. Earth was brought in unheard-of quantity and thrown into it, but the lake did not dry up. As it proved difficult to fill it the lady had to leave. By the lake a terrific mound of earth is to be seen and they say that it was brought all at one time and she left it there for people to know how much was brought and thrown into the lake without result.

The water of this lake mingles with the water of Daynavar and the joint streams flow to a river which passes by a spring (*ḥamma*) arranged in terraces with tanks. The river water flows into the lower tank and when the river water increases and overflows the lower tank, the water of the spring flows into the tank situated above it and in this way it goes on up to the last tank. When the water in the uppermost tank decreases the water below it begins to rise (**f. 190b**) and the operation continues from tank to tank down to the lowest tank. The water of this (river) joins the river of Ṣaymara and jointly they flow on to Sūs (Shūsh).

§ 43. I have heard that if one strikes 1000 dirhams and throws the heated bulk (?) ([2]) into the water of Shabdīz near Qarmīsīn, the (amount) increases by 6 dirhams, for reasons unknown to me.

§ 44. From Hamadhan one travels to NIHĀVAND where there are a bull and a fish artistically hewn out of stone. It is said that they form a talisman against certain pests which used to visit the place.

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([1]) *Qad ẓahara*lahum*, cf. §50 : *ma'ādinu khafiyya.*

([2]) Literally : "the heat of the mould".

the (original) town was ancient and that Dara, when Alexander marched against him, consulted his ministers about some strong city where his family and treasures might be safe, and one of them said: "I know of a ruined town situated amidst high mountains and steep roads; should the king rebuild it, he would preserve his stores in it; should he appoint for its protection 4,000 trustworthy guardians, it would resist any conquerors". Then he described (Hamadhan) in detail and Dara went there and, after inspection, understood that it would be inaccessible to invaders. So he rebuilt it and built hidden treasure-houses in it to hold his valuables and jewels. He also placed in it his family and his trusted men. After the (well-known) events occurred between him and Dara, Alexander sent a large army which besieged Hamadhan without being able to capture it. (The commander) thought about retreating but his counsellors said: "Write to the king concerning your retreat and explain the circumstances to him" (**f. 190a**). So he wrote to Alexander and the latter wrote to his tutor Aristotle to explain the situation. Aristotle replied saying: "(Send) me a picture of it with its roads, mountains and rivers". This he did and sent him the picture. Then Aristotle wrote ordering him to dam the river at a farsakh's distance (upstream) and for the period of a year; also to build a barrage (*sikr*) on it and to make it strong. After a year (he should) open the dam; (namely) he should drive into the water cows, buffaloes, mules and asses joined together and (their weight) would open the barrage. Then he should direct the water against the town and it would destroy the walls and prepare the king's entry into it [1]. Thus he did, and when the barrage was opened the water rushing forward battered down the city walls and carried with it large pieces of rock which still remain in the streets of Hamadhan. When the wall gave way, Alexander's companions entered the city.

The soil of Hamadhan is all gold-bearing but there is little coal in it (in the town?). Therefore the amount extracted is consumed (*yunfaq*) and there is no profit in (gold). In Hamadhan there are

[1] The construction of this long passage is full of anacolutha.

Thence to another village called VALASHJIRD said to have 1,000 springs, the waters of which form one single river.

Thence to MĀDHARĀN which is a lake with an abundant outflow which drives 100 mills widely scattered and of various descriptions. Nearby stands a lofty castle of Chosroes and in front of it there is a sloping bank (*zāllāqa* "glacis") and a large orchard.

§ 39. Thence to QASR al-LUṢUṢ ("the Castle of Thieves"). The architecture of this castle is very astonishing because it stands on a brick platform (*dakka*) rising some 20 cubits above the ground. Inside it there are porticos, pavilions (*jausaq*) **(f.189b)** and treasure houses surpassing those already mentioned in loftiness and grandeur. The eyes are dazzled by the architecture and the beauty of its ornaments (*nuqūsh* "images"?). This castle was the stronghold of Abarvīz and a pleasance in view of the abundance of game, the taste of its water and the beauty of its meadows and plains. Round this castle lies a large town with a cathedral mosque.

§40. Thence to a place called the KITCHEN of CHOSROES—4 farsakhs. This Kitchen is a huge building in the plain with no cultivation around. As already mentioned Abarvīz used to stay at Qaṣr al-Luṣuṣ (Kangavar) and his son Shāh-Mardān at Asad-ābādh. There are 4 farsakhs between the Kitchen and the Qaṣr, and between the Kitchen and Asad-ābādh, 3 farsakhs. When the king wished to have a repast, the *ghulāms* took two tablecloths from Qaṣr al-luṣuṣ to the Kitchen, which is a distance of 4 farsakhs, and the china dishes (for Abarvīz) were passed on from one to another. The same was done on the stretch from the Kitchen to Asad-abadh, a distance of 3 farsakhs. Asad-ābād was so called after the Ḥimyarite Asad b. Dhul-Surw (*Sarw ?).

§41. Thence to HAMADHĀN, the town of Dārā b. Dārā. In the midst of it stands the ancient town which is spacious and built on a platform 30 cubits high. It has four gates with tall arches. Dārā built it in appreciation of the goodness of the site. (Then) it was a wooded marsh infested with wild beasts and it remained so until the water was drained and a town built on it. It has been mentioned that

§ 35. Thence to a rock called SUMAYRA, high, towering (over the plain) and bearing a wonderful image and beautiful pictures. It is reported that Kisrā Abarvīz charged Farhād-the-Sage with this work. Below this place there is a huge bridge of wonderful architecture spanning a deep river.

§ 36. From this bridge one travels to a large village, rich and abounding in amenities, called ABĀ (*sic*) AYYŪB. It belonged to... of (?) Jurhum (?) (**f 189a**) whose patronymic was Abū-Ayyūb and he was its builder. In it stands a huge platform (*dukkān*) built of unhewn stones. Some of the latter have been removed by a Kurd who has built with them a huge fortress called SARMĀJ on the mountain overshadowing the village (of this name).

§ 37. After this place, one comes to a bridge larger than all those already described and of more solid workmanship. It is known as the BRIDGE of NUʻMĀN. The occasion of its construction was that Nuʻmān b. Mundhir, on one of his journeys to Chosroes, was crossing a great and deep river which had a difficult descent and ascent. As he entered it, behold, he overtook a woman with a child who also wished to cross over. When the cavalcade approached her she had already undone her clothes and the child was sitting on her neck. She became frightened and in her bewilderment dropped her clothes, and the child fell off her neck and got drowned. Nuʻmān was grieved and pitied the woman. He made a vow to build a bridge at this place. He asked the king for permission but he did not give it lest there should be some trace of the Arabs in the land of the non-Arabs (*ʻajam*). When Bahrām Chubīn came to fight Abarvīz he appealed to Nuʻmān for help which the latter gave on certain conditions, among which was that Bahrām should grant him half of the *kharāj* of Birs (*sic*) and Kūthā and that he should build the bridge just mentioned. Bahrām agreed and, when he left, Bahrām built it.

§ 38. From this bridge one travels to the village called DASTAJIRD-KISRAWIYA with wonderful buildings consisting of lofty pavilions (*jawāsiq*) and porticos, all of blocks of squared stones and the onlooker has no doubt that they have been hewn out of one piece.

Thence (**f. 188b**) to ṢAYMARA which is a pleasant town in which one finds simultaneously palm-trees, olives, walnuts, snow and fruit belonging both to mountains and to plains. Between it and *ṬIRHĀN there is a huge bridge twice as large as that of Khaniqin and most wonderful.

§ 33. Thence to QARMĪSĪN (Kermanshah) which is a fine and splendid town, though there are no remains inside it, except a house which is said to have been wonderful. In the year 340/951 we witnessed in it something curious, namely that *one of its chiefs (1) wished to build a court for himself, his harem and his suite. The architects prepared the plans for him. When the chief began the work on digging its foundations there appeared a building which he explored and this led him to a court on a plan (similar to that) which had been drawn up for him and which did not differ in anything (2) in the way of chambers, halls, platforms, domes and dwellings. It is said that this court had been built by the man who had planned Shabdīz.

[*We think that this report too is due to Abū-Dulaf's imagination*](3).

§ 34. The image of SHABDĪZ is at a farsakh's distance from Qarmīsīn. It represents a man on horseback made of stone. He wears a cuirass which cannot be distinguished (*lā yuḥramu*) from iron ; (on it) appears the coat of mail and the studs fixed in it, and the onlooker has no doubt that (the image) can move. This image is of Barvīz on his horse Shabdiz, and no image on earth is like it. In the niche in which the image is placed there are a number of men and women standing or mounted. Before the king there is a man with the appearance (*zayy*) of an artisan with a bonnet on his head ; he is girt (with a sash ?) and in his hand he holds a *balkān* with which he is digging the earth. A stream gushes forth from under the foot (of the king) and flows to the bridge over a wide river, which resembles the bridge of Khāniqīn but is of a more solid construction.

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(1) The text has "two of its chiefs" but then continues in the singular.

(2) I have restored * لا يغاير. My friends Prof. A. Eghbal and Dr. M. A. Ismāʿīl have suggested * لا يغادر "does not miss out", *cf.* Qor'ān, XVIII, 17.

(3) Note of the original editor.

"exchange services" (*bidāl*) and the monk consented, but when he got from Abū-Nuwās what he wished, he himself broke faith and protected himself against Abū-Nuwās and the latter killed him. Since then no one has lived in the cell but it is the ***rendez-vous*** of the beaux of Hulwan who come to drink in it for the reason explained and because the place is pleasant and well-situated. And over it there is an inscription, as it is said, by the hand of Abū-Nuwās :

" The monk acted unfairly :

" For he enjoyed the 'services' of others but not *vice-versa* ".

§ 31. In MARJ al-QAL'A there is a beautiful town endowed with a very cool climate and possessing cool streams. Nearby stands a castle (see § 29) above the gardens which is now ruined. Abarvīz is said to have killed his son in it and therefore it has decayed. Bajkam-the-Turk had made up his mind to (re-) build it but died before he could achieve this plan.

Thence to al-ṬAZAR which is a town with a cathedral mosque lying in a wide plain. There stands a portico built by Khusrau-kard (?) b. Shāhān but there are no other remains in it.

§ 32. Thence one turns off to the right towards MĀSABADHĀN and MIHRAJĀN-QADHAQ. These (districts) consist of several towns. One of them is ARĪVAJĀN (?), a handsome town in a plain between tree-clad mountains and having many mineral springs (and mines of) sulphur, iron sulphate, borax and salts. Its water flows out to BANDANJĪN (Mandali) and waters its plains. There is nothing noteworthy in it, except three mineral sources and a spring. If someone receives an enema of its water, he gets strong diarrhea ; if he drinks it he disgorges a mass of mixed matter and this water harms the nerves of the head.

Thence a few farsakhs to al-RADD wal-BĪRĀW (?) where the tomb of the caliph Mahdi is located, but the only trace of it is the obliterated foundations of the building of which nothing has survived.

Thence one enters SĪRVĀN which possesses fine remains and wonderful buildings.

them and one's thoughts too narrow in trying to encompass them. They consist of numerous porticos lying close to each other, of private chambers, treasuries, castles, arches, pleasances, balconies, covered galleries,open squares, hunting grounds, rooms and estates (*dasākir*) ([1]). A sage would protract his examination of them, (for the ruins) tell of might, power and long lives which inspire those who are far-sighted. The king who built it was Abarvīz (Khusrau-Aparvēz).

§ 29. In HULWĀN there are remains similar to those in Qaṣr-i Shīrīn. Thence to the Cupper's Arch ([2]) which is a stone vault at the cross-roads in the gorge between two mountains, a marvellous, tall building.

Thence to MĀDHARŪSTĀN which is a huge portico standing alone with a raised platform and a ruined garden before it. It was built by Bahrām Gūr. Snow falls only on its eastern side looking towards Khorasan, but not on its western side looking towards Iraq. Thence to *Marj al-qal'a* which is a very wide meadow with remains of an Adite (*'Ādiya*) ([3]) castle of wonderful construction (§ 31).

§ 30. The water of the river Ḥulwān is pestilential, unpalatable and sulphurous. Rhododendrons grow along it. In Ḥulwān pomegranates are found such as I have not seen in other countries and wonderful figs called *shāh-anjīr* (f. **188a**), *i.e.* "the king of figs". In the neighbourhood there is a mountain with a number of sulphurous springs helpful in many ailments. Also in its neighbourhood is the mountain with a monk's cell called DAYR al-GHĀR. Some allege that it got its name in the following manner. Abū-Nuwās travelling from Iraq to Khorasan arrived at this cell in which a dissolute (*shalf*) monk lived, nice-looking and of gentle appearance. He invited Abū-Nuwās and put him up, his behaviour betraying some (ultimate) purpose (!) ([4]). When they got drunk Abū-Nuwās offered him to

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([1]) Perhaps simply: "level ground", *cf.* commentary on §38.

([2]) Now Tāq-i Girrā.

([3]) *i.e.* belonging to hoary antiquity. *'Ād*, an ancient people in Arabia, are often mentioned in the Qor'ān, VII, 63, etc.

([4]) Reading: *lam yatawaqqa amruhu ghāyatan* (?).

**PLATE II**


SHAHRAZUR
KHANAQIN
KERMANSHAH
§§24-39
SHAHRAZUR
Mt Zalm
Khuzmal
Auromān
Hajīj
Navsūd
Sirvan
Bān-khēlān ford
Sirvan
Zimkān
KURDISTAN
Zohāb
Qasr-i Shīrīn
Hulwān
bridge
Kel-i Dāvūd
Khānaqīn
Sarmīl
bridge
Kerund
Khusrau-ābād
Hārūn-ābād
LURISTAN
AYVĀN
Mandali
Mt Mānisht
Deh-i bālā
Tursaq
Zorbatiya
Sīrvān
Saimarra
bridge
Turhān
Kermānshāh
Tāq-i Bustān
Bīsutūn
Dukkān
Sarmāj
Sahnaq
Kangāvar
Bīd-i surkh

Horsemen ([1]) ride on the top of its wall which is broad and spacious. This town is inaccessible to the Kurds, the governors and the villagers. On many occasions I used to look at its chief whom they call *amīr* while he was sitting on a high tower built on the (gate ?) from which one gets a view over several farsakhs. In his hands the amir would hold a naked sword and when he caught sight of a group of horsemen (approaching) from some direction, he would flash his sword and the herds of his family and his ox-teams (*'awāmiluhu*) would rush in fear (*injafalat*) towards the town.

There is a cathedral mosque in it and it is a well-appointed ([2]) town. It is said that David and Solomon, on them be peace, prayed for the victory of this town and the inhabitants, and it (became) immune **(f. 187b)** from invaders for ever. It is said that Saul came from here and here the Israelites gained victory. This because Goliath came out of the East and David out of the West and God granted him success over Goliath. This town was built by Dārā b. Dārā and Alexander had no success in it and its people did not invite him. Nor did the Muslims either conquer it or take possession of it. The population accepted Islam only after (the Muslims) had despaired of its submission. The usurpers of local origin who rule in it to this day say that they are descendants of Saul.

Their territories adjoin Khāniqīn and Karkh-J.dān. This latter place is known for the *sūnāyā*-grapes, and for the small number of cases of ophthalmia and small pox which occur in it.

§ 28. On the way from (Shahrazūr) to KHĀNIQĪN one has to cross the river Tāmarrā (Diyālā). In Khaniqīn there is a great oil-well which yields a large income, and a renowned bridge over the river. It has 24 arches, each 20 cubits (wide) and over it passes the highway from Khorasan to Kufa and Mekka.

This road comes to QAṢR-I SHĪRĪN (which is a domain possessing) tall buildings : one's eyes become dimmed by trying to measure

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([1]) This and the following paragraphs must refer again to the *chief* town of Shahrazūr, see Commentary.

([2]) *Mansūba*, more likely *manṣūra* "victorious", as in Yaqut.

to protect themselves and to defend their territory. The height of the walls of the city is 8 cubits. Most of their amirs are from their own midst. (There are deadly scorpions (**f. 187a**) in Shahrazūr, worse than those of Niṣībīn) ([1]). The inhabitants are freedmen *(mawālī)* of ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz but the Kurds encouraged them to overpower the amirs and to oppose the caliphs. This because the country is the winter quarters for 60,000 households of Kurds of various tribes, such as the Jalālī, Yābisān (?), Ḥakamī (?), Sūlī. Numerous fields belong to them in Shahrazūr and their food comes mostly from its plains *(ṣaḥārā)*. In the neighbourhood of this town there is a mountain called Shaʿrān and another known as Zalm in which seeds of the **zalm* ([2]) are found which are good for the preparation of aphrodisiacs, and I do not know of any other place where they exist.

§25. Thence to DAYLAM-ASTĀN 7 farsakhs. In the days of the ancient kings of Persia the Daylamites used to camp here when they came out of their country on raiding expeditions. Leaving their main force *(sawād ?)* nearby they themselves would spread over the country prowling in the night (for booty) ([3]) and, when their raid was over, return to this place and thence depart for their usual haunts. This place has been called after them to this very day.

§26. In Shahrazūr there is another town less rebellious and strong, called BĪR *(Pīr ?)*. Its inhabitants are Shiʿites of the Ṣāliḥī-Zaydī denomination who were converted to Islam by Zayd b. ʿAli. This town is the haunt of every freebooter and of every raider. The people of *Nīm-az-rāy attacked this town, looted it and burnt it down to show their zeal in religion and in the Sharīʿa. This happened in 341/952.

§27. Between these two towns ([4]) lies a small town called DŪZDĀN ("Thieves") built on the same pattern as Shīz for inside it there is a lake which has an outflow.

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([1]) This phrase is out of its place.

([2]) In the text: "seeds of *ratm* (?)", *i.e.* "broom".

([3]) Reading *ʿāssīn*. Dozy *ʿassa* "rôder pendant la nuit autour du troupeau (loup, hyène), sonder, tâter". Yaqut spells *ghāʾibīn* "were hiding".

([4]) See above §24.

found in a mine situated towards the east. In Armenia sulphur and iron sulphates are rare and there is no silver or gold. Cheap prices prevail in Armenia but very great famines occur there too. It is a far-flung country possessing many stones (minerals) with well-known properties. Yearly a number of markets are held there in which various things are sold, horses, brocades, mules, *buzyūn*, etc.

Armenia has few vestiges of the past. It possesses a mine of yellow marcasite (iron sulphide) but that which is found in the territory of Shīz in the village N.mrāvar (M.rāvar ?) is of better quality and I do not think I have seen the like of it.

§ 22. Armenia adjoins the mountains (?) of Jūr (spelt *Ḥūr*), then those of * Dās.n, then al-Ḥarrāniya (?) and * Nirīz.

§ 23. This *NIRĪZ (NĪRĪZ) used to form the principality of the tribe of Tayy (or of the earlier Tayy ?) ([1]). This was a region which Abū-Tammām, Buḥturī and others sought. Its ruler ʿAlī b. Murr Ṭā'ī was the patron to whom poets used to travel and from whom they returned with presents. Then a Kurdish tribe known as (lacuna : read **Hadhbāniya*, V.M.) seized the town, made a desert of its site and ruined its districts (*rustāq*), obliterating every trace of them. So things remained under them for a time, but when the government (of the caliph) weakened and they (the Kurds) felt themselves safe from requests of the governors and visits of the amirs, they restored what they had ruined and emulated their predecessors in these parts extending their villages up to Salaq, Daynavar and the dependencies of Shahrazūr.

§ 24. And SHAHRAZŪR consists of two towns ([2]) and various villages. It has a large town, which is nowadays its capital, called Nīm-az-rāy. (Its) people are in revolt against the government and have found savour in opposition and pleasantness in rebellion. The town lies in a plain (*ṣaḥrā*) and its people possess courage and energy

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([1]) My translation of طافرة (?) is conjectural.

([2]) Spelt : *mudaynāt* " small towns " but should be corrected **madīnatān* in view of the description which follows.

(in that state) and this friendly attitude is a feature of an amiable nature and of a pure character. The population are ready to serve their guests and to show them great hospitality. They are very obedient to their clergy ("monks"). When one of them is approaching death he calls in the priest, gives him money and confesses the sin which he has committed. The priest prays for his forgiveness and guarantees (in advance) that his other sins will be pardoned and forgiven. It is also reported that the priest spreads his chasuble (*kisā*) and each time the man mentions a sin he opens his hand and then closes it (*qabaḍa-hā*) saying: "I have taken the sin", and he throws it into his chasuble. When no sins have remained, the priest gathers up his chasuble and goes out with it. (Then) he says: "I have carried away thy sins and thrown them into the desert," and strengthens in his soul (the belief) in pardon and forgiveness. This custom is not part of their general creed but is peculiar to this group, who are a kind of Armenians. Their voices in reading lessons from the Gospel and the rhythm (*īqā'*) of their chants are more pleasant and emotional than the voices of other kinds of Christians. For an afflicted heart disposed to threnodies and dirges their modulations are more plaintive than (those of) the Arab threnodists in their mourning, and their psalmodies in church are most sweet [1] to the ear of a joyful and intent listener because joy and gladness come from the repetition of songs (?). It is said that their singing to the accompaniment of strings is pleasant and correct indeed.

§ 21. In (Armenia) there is a mountain called MASIS (Ararat) from the foot of which numerous and abundant springs gush forth which neither decrease nor increase and are cool in summer, protective and preserving in winter, (and always) pleasant. Snow remains on **(f 186b)** the summit of Masis throughout the year and enormous worms are born on it, some reaching 20 cubits and more (in length) and 10 cubits round the body.

In Armenia there are springs with bitter purging water; most of them lie round this mountain. A large amount of yellow arsenic is

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(1) Reading *aḥlā* for *aḥall*.

its water, when it is cold, recovers his sight; whoever smells its mud, his eyes are not blinded by snow. A beast which walks into it is safe from mange and so are its little ones for ever.

Many rivers flow into this lake (of Urmiya).

§ 19. In Armenia borax comes from this spring and from the lake in which the fish *tirrīkh* is caught (*i.e.* the lake of Van). Borax is also found in * Bājunays (Bāḥunays ?) which is the country of the Banū-Sulaym, and in which there is a salt-marsh with good salt; in it too there is a mine of *andarānī* salt, a magnesia mine and a copper mine. And that (mine) which is in Ḥīzān produces tutty of the kinds *maḥmūd* and *ḍafādi'i* ("colour of the frog" ?) with a small quantity of black iron sulphate which is not good. The salt there [1] is less good than that in Ḥīzān. In (Armenia) grow lavender and wormwood which expels worms from the inside, although the *turkī* kind is stronger and more efficacious. There too grow good *afsintīn* [2], good *aftimūn* [3] **(f. 186a)**, *istūkhūdhūs* [4] and many useful herbs. There grow also hyacinths of the *rūmī* kind.

§ 20. Between (*sic*) Armenia and Aflūghūniya there is a vast country (*balad*) which does not produce scholars and from which no scholar has ever risen, and this because of (its) nature. In that country (*balad*) there are strong castles, as that called W.RĪMĀN (?) which stands in the midst of a lake on the tooth of a peak and cannot be conquered. Here too a river goes underground and they say that this is the river (which re-appears) in * Niṣībīn. The inhabitants are subject to elephantiasis because of their eating too much cabbage. Treason is in their nature and evidence has been quoted in support (of this charge against them) but one of my brothers (friends ?) has adduced some excuses on their behalf.

He says that they are not treacherous. And he adds that, if there is a pauper among them, he does not like (his) countrymen to see him

(1) *hā* apparently refers to Armenia.

(2) *Artemisia absinthium* which seems to be identical with wormwood ?

(3) *Cuscuta epithymum*, "Flachsseide", but the word is indistinct.

(4) *Lavandula stoechas.*

be crossed in one night. From this lake salt comes in a polished (crystallised) state resembling tutty. On the eastern shore of the lake there are springs, the water of which becomes petrified when air touches it ; from other springs waters, bitter, sour and salt, flow into the lake. When poured on mercury they immediately decompose it (*fattat-hu*) and render it like dry stone. There is here also a white soft mineral which bleaches lead in the process of melting and makes it as white as tin and nearly as white as silver. And above (the lake) stand strong castles.

§ 18. One side of the lake adjoins a place called "the Kurdish river" (*wādī al-Kurd*) in which there are rare specimens of stones. Over (beyond) it in the direction of Salmās there is a famous spring, (**f. 185b**) harmless, nay very useful. By common accord it is the best of what comes out of the bosom of the earth. It is called ZARĀVAND and from it *zarāvandī* borax takes its name. When a wounded man or beast is placed in it the wounds and ulcers heal, and, under them, soft bones, hidden curvatures (*azija ?*) and deep-seated splinters (improve). (The wounds) open to let out pus and other matter and then cleanly coalesce and the man is safe from danger.

In my time a person, whom I helped to carry to the spring, was suffering from mange, baldness, colic, herpes (* *ḥazāz*), pains in his legs, shattered nerves, perpetual melancholia and constant fever. An arrow-head had pierced his flesh and stuck in his body and we were expecting that any time it might perforate his liver. He stayed there three days and the arrow came out of his waist because this was the softest spot for it to find its way out.

I have seen the like of this water only in Tīz and Mukrān, and I shall speak of its properties when I reach the story of my journey to those parts, if the One God wills it.

One of the qualities of this spring is that beside it there is a rivulet of fresh water, limpid and cold, and whoever has drunk of it is safe from diphtheria ; the tender ducts (*'urūq*) of his spleen (*al-ṭuḥāl*) become dilated and without difficulty he secretes (*as-hala*) the black bile. Whoever being struck with night-blindness washes his eyes with

In the mountains which have been mentioned there are mineral springs, useful only for mange. In Badhdhayn there is a place having the area (*taksīr*) of 3 *jarīb* and it is said that it has a place for a man to stand on. Whoever stands on it and prays to God (f. **185a**) obtains what he prays for. There the banners of the *Muḥammira* ("those clad in red") are tied ([1]). Bābak arose from here and here they are *waiting for al-Mahdi. Below there is a huge river; if someone suffering from chronic fever bathes in it he gets rid of the fever.

§ 16. Beside it (the river) ([2]) is the river al-RASS (Araxes) along which (*'alā?*) are found wonderful pomegranates, the like of which I have not seen anywhere, and also wonderful olives. As for the raisins they are dried in ovens (*tannūr*) because there is no sun (shine) with them, on account of the multitude of flies, and the sky is never lit up by the sun. They have some sulphur which they find in lumps (floating) in the water and the women grow fat when they drink it with crumbs of bread.

The river Araxes flows out to the plain of Balāsajān which (extends to) the sea, and lengthwise from Barzand to Barda'a. Thereto belong Varthān and Baylaqān. In this plain there are 5,000 villages or more, all in ruins, although their walls and buildings stand upright without decay in view of the goodness of the soil. They say that these villages had belonged to the Companions of al-Rass mentioned in the Qor'ān (XXV, 40; L, 12) and also that they were the host (*raht*) of Goliath whom David and Solomon killed when they refused to pay the tribute (*kharāj*). Goliath was killed in Urmiya where his tomb is to be found; and the temple (*kanīsa*) of Victory and that of Glory are there also.

§ 17. And in URMIYA too there is a salt lake in which nothing grows and no animals are found in the neighbourhood. In the middle of it there is an island called Kabudān (*sic*) and on it there are villages inhabited by the crews of the ships which sail on the lake. The circumference (of the lake) is 50 farsakhs and in its width it can

([1]) *I.e.* solemnly consecrated.

([2]) Badhdh must have lain a considerable distance south of the Araxes on a tributary of the Araxes, near Mt. Hashtādsar.

son was displeased and shamed lest the father would accuse him of rebellion. As in the meantime he was greedy for money, stores and treasures, he collected a large army of Daylamites and went to Azarbayjan and then there happened what is not hidden from the distant and the near.

§ 13. Then I returned to Azarbayjan by (way of) Gīlān up to Mūqān, travelling 80 farsakhs under trees along the coast of the great sea of Tabaristan. I reached the place called BĀKŪYA belonging to Sharvān and found there a spring of petroleum, the lease (*qabāla*) of which is 1,000 dirhams a day. Nearby is another well producing white petroleum resembling jessamine oil (?); it flows unceasingly day and night and its lease (*ḍimān*) is also (1,000 dirhams).

§ 14. Thence I proceeded to Armenia and reached TĪFLIS which is a town beyond which there is *no Islam (1). It is traversed by a river which is called Kurr and flows to the sea, and mill-wheels (*'urūb?*) are at work in it. The town has huge walls and very hot baths which require neither fuel nor water. The reason is clear to intelligent persons and needs no explanation.

I wished to visit the cave al-Ṭīs (2) to have a look at it but this was impossible because (the road ?) was cut off from it and so I had to content myself with imagination.

§ 15. Thence I journeyed to ARDABĪL over the mountains of Vayzūr (Vayotz-dzor), Qabān, Khājīn (Khachēn), al-Ray', Ḥ.ndān (Jaydān ?) and al-Badhdhayn ("the two Badhdh"). (At the latter place) there is a mine of alum called after it (3). This is the red alum called *yamani*. Thence it is carried to the Yaman (!) and Wāsiṭ; the wool in Wāsiṭ is dyed with it exclusively, and it is stronger than the Egyptian kind. (And it is found) here (in Badhdh) and in Ardabīl(4).

(1) By mistake our text omits *lā* which is restored by Yaqut.

(2) Perhaps: **maghār al-Ṭīsh* "the cave of thoughtlessness" indicating the presence of some gases in the grotto?

(3) *I.e.* this alum is called: *Badhdhī* (?).

(4) The phrase is elliptic.

§ 9. Thence I went to the ISFANDŪYA river where I found many boracic springs, which are useful only in cases of swollen muscles (*al-riyāḥ fil-'aṣab*) ; another spring helps against shortness of breath (*al-khafā ?*).

§ 10. Thence I arrived at a mine of red Syrian (or light pink ? *sūrī ?*) iron sulphate in which white gold grows (appears) in summer and it (sulphate ?) reddens on the inner side of its crust (*min dākhil ḥaffihi*).

§ 11. Thence I penetrated into ṬARM (*Tārom*). There, as well as in ZHANJĀN I found famous mines of iron sulphate, superior to that of Egypt, Cyprus and Kerman. I also found there mines of borax and alum, white and red. I also found a spring useful for inveterate wounds but not for fresh ones. I also found a spring from which flows a water which petrifies when air has touched it and which in the liquid state is useful for bleedings (?) from the womb, and in a solid state for the *dubar al-ḥamīr* ("asses' sores") ; also a white stone which serves as a bezoar.

§ 12. I arrived in the capital of the king of Daylam called SAMĪRĀN, and among its buildings and works I saw things which I had not seen in other royal residences, for it has some 2,850 large and small buildings. Its lord Muhammad b. Musāfir, when he saw some fine piece of furniture or some solid work, would enquire after the maker and, having learnt his whereabouts, send him money, such as would attract such a man, and guarantee to him the double of that sum if he came to him. But when he arrived, the king would prevent him from leaving the castle for the duration of his life. He used to collect the children of his subjects and have them instructed in crafts. He had much revenue and little expense, much money and great treasures. So he continued until his (own) children became hostile to him in view of their compassion for (**f. 184b**) their (his ?) men who were living in the guise of captives. One day Muhammad went out on one of his hunting expeditions and, when he came back, they locked the gate of the castle and would not let him in. Muhammad took refuge in another castle in his dominions and his sons freed his 5,000 craftsmen (who) felt grateful to them for this act. His middle

blessedness of her child. And when he wished to take leave of her, she gave him a bag of earth and said to him: "Tell thy lord that there will be a building on this earth". He took it and left but when he reached the place of Shīz, and this, you should know, is an open plain (*ṣaḥrā*), he died, but before his death, when he felt he was going to die, he buried the bag at this place. The news reached the king and the Persians affirm that he sent a man of his (*rajul ma'ahu*) saying: "Go to the place where our friend died and build a fire-temple over that bag." Said he: "And how shall I recognize the place?" Said the king: "Go and it will not be hidden from thee". And when he reached the place he was bewildered and did not know what to do. Then evening came and the night overtook him, and he saw a great light rising from a place in that neighbourhood. Then he knew that it was the place he sought. And he went thither, drew a line around the fire, and spent the night there. And in the morning he ordered a building to be erected on that line, and this was the fire-temple of Shīz.

§ 8. From this town I proceeded 4 farsakhs to another town called al-Rān (* Alarān) in which there is a mine of heavy white gold mixed with silver; it reddens (when tested) on a touchstone. When to ten parts of it one-tenth of silver is added (?) it reddens. And I found a mine of lead and extracted from it *mardāsinj* (dross of lead); from each maund I got $1^1/_2$ dangs (*i.e.* one-quarter) of pure silver. I have not found lead mines anywhere else. I found in it many mandrakes (*bayrūḥ*) (**f. 184a**) of huge size, one measuring 10 cubits or more [1]. In this town there is a river: whoever drinks from it is safe from calculi. There is also a herb there: whoever carries it with him it makes him laugh until his laughter turns to madness; but if he loses the herb, or a part of it, he feels sorrow for it and even weeps. There is also a white opaque stone there which produces lead. There too small beasts (insects) fall from the clouds which are useful against baldness (alopecia) when they are used in poultices (*bil-luṭūḥ*). (And yet?) baldness with total loss of hair prevails among them.

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(1) *Cf.* below § 60.

In (Shīz) there is a greatly respected fire-temple from which the fires of the Magians are kindled both in the East and in the West. On the summit of its cupola there is a silver crescent which forms its talisman. Both amirs and usurpers wished to remove it but did not succeed.

[*This report too is one of Abū- Dulaf's superfluities*](1).

And another wonder of this temple is that the hearth has been burning for 700 years and no ashes are found in it, whereas the fire has not ceased to burn even for an hour.

§6. This town was built by Hurmuz b. Khusrau-Shīr b. Bahrām of stones and lime. By this temple there are (**f. 183b**) tall porticos and awe-inspiring buildings. When an enemy attacks this town and sets his mangonels, be it at a cubit's distance, the missile (stone) falls outside the walls (2)

§7. The story about the foundation of this town is that, when the news reached Hurmuz, king of Persia, that a child, a blessed boy, would be born in Jerusalem, in a village called Bethlehem, and that offerings (sacrifice) to him should be ointment (*duhna*), oil and frankincense, he sent one of his trusted men with great riches and bade him purchase 1000 quintals of oil in Jerusalem and *carry much frankincense with him. And he told him to proceed to Jerusalem and to enquire about that child ; then, having learnt (what he wanted), to hand the gifts to the mother and give her the good tidings of what honour, fame and good deeds would fall to the lot of her son. And (he was) to beg her to give blessings to him (the king) and to the people of his kingdom.

And the man did as he had been told. He went to Maryam and presented to her what was sent with him and let her know the

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(1) Remark of the original editor. "Too" apparently refers to the story of the temple of Multān in the first *risāla* which the editor also comments on with disapproval.

(2) In the margin : "and sets his mangonels against its walls, the stone falls into the above-mentioned lake". Yāqūt, III, 354 : "the stone falls into the lake ; and if the mangonel were removed (*ukkhira*) but to a cubit's distance, the stone falls outside the walls".

got hold of my mind with regard to stones, and I craved for medicinal plants and my judgment pushed me to explore the veins of ore and springs, information and description brought me (**f. 183a**) to SHĪZ.

§ 4. This is a town situated between Marāgha, Zanjān, Suhravard and Daynavar, among mountains in which are found mines of gold, quicksilver, lead, silver, yellow arsenic and the stones known as *jamast* (amethyst). Its gold is of three kinds: (*a*) that known as *qūmisī* which is like soil but, if water is poured over it, (that soil) is washed away and gold sand like dust (*dharr*) remains which joins with quicksilver and (the result) is of a pink colour, ([1]) *heavy, pure, (of) a colour resisting to fire, ([2]) soft and malleable; (*b*) the second kind is *shahrabī* and is found in nuggets weighing from one grain to 10 mithqals; its colour is fast, permanent (*ṣulb razīn*); but there is some dryness in it ([3]); (*c*) the third is called *sijābadhī* and is white, soft, solid and red when tested on the touchstone; it can be coloured with iron sulphate; the arsenic in it is in laminæ and it contains little soil. This kind is used in ornamentation and decoration, and from it especially the people of Isfaban make bezels and it does not redden in them (?). Its mercury is superior to (that of) the Khorasanian kind, heavier and purer. We have tested it and (the produce) proved to be one in thirty, along with silver ore (*al fiḍḍat al-ma'diniya*); this (gold) is not found in the East. As regards the silver, the extraction of it is (expensive) in view of the dearth of coal with them.

§ 5. The walls of this town encircle the * lake ([4]) which is bottomless. I sounded it to a depth of 14,000 cubits odd and the plumb did not come to rest. Its area is about one *jarīb hāshimi* and when its waters have moistened the earth the latter immediately solidifies to stone. Seven canals come out of the lake and each of them feeds a mill and comes out under the walls.

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([1]) See I. Hauqal (ed. Kramers), 181, who uses this term ***khalūqī***. Cf. Dozy, Supplement: ***khalūqī*** "rouge clair".

([2]) Or "coloured, resisting to fire" ?.

([3]) Or perhaps "dryness" refers to the colour ("paleness").

([4]) Not *baḥr* but * *Buḥayra*, cf. §6, but see *baḥr* in §48.

## II

# ABŪ-DULAF'S SECOND RISĀLA

### TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC

**(f. 182b)** [ *The Second Epistle which he addressed to us after the one which we have transcribed* ] (1).

§1. After praise to God, a eulogy of those who represent him on this earth and in his heaven and a prayer for divine help to them in every kind of good (purposes), -I have written (*harrartu*) for you both-, o you two, whose slave I am, may God grant you glory, assistance, power and authority,- a record of my journey from Bukhara to China, carried out in a chord, and of my return *via* India which formed the arc (of that circle). In (my record) I have mentioned various marvels which I witnessed in the lands I saw and among the tribes I visited. I have not made my discourse exhaustive for fear of (obtrusive) length, and for the moment I have seen fit to (prepare) an abstract (in the form?) of a clear treatise containing all I have seen, (my object being) that honourable persons should benefit by it ; that the distinguished and the comfortable should find guidance (?) in it ; and that the views of those who are unable to measure the land (personally) should become enlightened.

§ 2. I begin with a discussion of the natural mines and mineral wonders because these are of more general utility, and in doing so I intend to be concise. God is the giver of assistance, he (alone) suffices to me and he is the best helper.

§ 3. After I mastered the noble art and the profitable commerce of sublimating, distilling, dissolving and calcifying, and curiosity (2)

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(1) Added by the original addressees.

(2) *Khamara qalbī shakkun fil-ḥijāra* " doubt seized me heart about stones ".

I am deeply grateful to the enlightened liberality of the Egyptian Minister of Education H.E. Prof. Dr. Taha Husain and his coadjutors for including my work on Abū-Dulaf in their series of publications, that torch of light which they are carrying on amid all the clouds and storms of the present troublous days.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my debt to my friends Y. A. Ismā'īl, B.A. 'Awaḍ, A. A. Magīd, and other Arab friends who with great kindness helped me with their suggestions and explanations. My former pupils Dr. J. A. Boyle and G. Meredith-Owens have obliged me by checking my English text.

*Cambridge, 21 January 1952.*

P.S. I read a preliminary report on Abū-Dulaf's Second *Risāla* at the International Congress of Orientalists in Stamboul on 22 September 1951. The text (in French) has appeared in *Oriens*, vol. V, No. 1, 1952, pp. 23-7.

7. The use of *al*-is arbitrary النعمان and نعمان (189a), من العجائب الدنيــا (196a).

8. Genders are confused both in nouns and in verbs: هذه الجبل (192a), هذه المكان (192b), واد مدخلها (195a), قلعة يشرف (188a), etc.

9. There is much confusion in the use of numerals: أربع فراسخ (189b), عشرون رستاق (193b), ستة درهم (190b).

The author's own style is rather uneven. In the narrative parts of his *risāla* (1) his manner is vived and popular but in his mineralogical excurses he presents his remarks in the form of a catalogue, in which various statements are merely juxtaposed (*see* especially § 4). In longer phrases he does not shun anacolutha. Thus in § 7 the verb *amara* "he ordered" is followed by a series of verbs now in the subjunctive and now in the past: *an yamḍiya—wa yas'ala—wa dafa'a—wa bashshara—wa yas'ala.* Similarly in § 41: *ya'muruhu bi-sadd al-nahr—wa an yas'ala—wa fataḥa wa qarana—wa arsala*, with an additional confusion of the persons "thou" and "he".

The publishing of an ancient text from a unique copy would be an unenviable task, had we not the help of the numerous quotations found in Yāqūt, and partly in Z. Qazwini. It is astonishing, how close the quotations are to the Mashhad text. We may still be in some doubt as to whether smaller emendations originate from a better MS. or are due to Yaqut himself, but even in the latter case the readings of this judicious Arab author are of considerable value.

For the casual mistakes (*see* above) in our MS. I have marked the necessary corrections in the footnotes to the first fifteen paragraphs of the text, in order to give an idea of the state of the MS. In subsequent paragraphs I have corrected such spellings without acknowledgment, but all the essential improvements, either Yāqūt's, or my own, are clearly recorded in my text.

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(1) Such as his version of the Nativity (§7), the description of the Armenian sectarians (§20) and of Mt. Damavand (§51), the story of the Sasanian princess (§71), etc.

invasion, *i.e.* approximately before the 7th/13th century [1]. The *naskh* hand is not difficult but is often negligent. The peculiarities of spelling, such as the use of Persian ژ (with three dots), indicate the Persian nationality of the scribe. At some places he copied complexes of Arabic signs without realising their meaning:

fol. 184 a : هى مدينة الاسلام وراها for * لا إسلام وراءها

fol. 185 a : وبه بنو معون المهدى for * وبه يتوقعون المهدى

His knowledge of Arabic grammar is very indifferent. Some of his usual deficiencies have been summed up by A. P. Kovalevsky (*l.c.*, 25) and we shall table them in more detail.

1. The chief stumbling block of the scribe was the Arabic *hamza* and he often does without it or replaces it in the Persian way by ى, for example.

عجايب — * عجائب (182b, etc.) ; جيته — * جئته (196b) ; راى — * رأى (182b) ; ليلا — * لئلا (189a) ; يسئل — * يسأل (183b); شيا — * شيئا (190b).

2. He is fond of the *madda* and spells:

المآ — * الماء (186b), هوآ — * هواء (185a), شتآ — * شتاء (186b).

3. Final ة is either left undotted or replaced by ت:

حمت — * حمة (190a), رثات — * رثاة (186a), لبست — * لبسة (196a).

4. The following words are spelt usually without *alif*:

سليمن ، سلم ، ثلث .

5. Words like واد عال are spelt uniformly وادى عالى (188b).

6. After لم final ى is preserved لم يتوقى for لم يتوق (188a).

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[1] Two names كبودان (§17) and مادران (in §54, but not in §38) are spelt in the text with د and not with ذ, as they ought to appear in older Persian and in Arabic. Our scribe could be remiss in Arabic, only if in his own language the use of ذ between two vowels became irregular. Signs of such slackness appear by the beginning of the 13th century (?).

with a mild halo of exoticism. This surmise would have one drawback. It would not account for the emergence of the manuscript of the *Collectanea* in Persia, in Mashhad. We thus come back to the question of whether there ever existed a second copy of it, or whether even Yāqūt made use of the same unique copy, possibly during his work in the libraries of Marv (¹). For the moment, I agree with Dr. Rohr-Sauer that the problem of the identity of Abu-Dulaf's addressees remains obscure, as in the time of Yāqūt, but the discovery of the Mashhad MS. enables us to reach some interesting conclusions :

1. the critical notes in the text are *not* by Yāqūt but by the original patrons ;

2. the two *risālas* were addressed to the same two persons ;

3. the patrons who made the endorsements fully confirmed the authorship of Abū-Dulaf, so that it is no longer possible to speak of No. 1 as a "forgery attributed to Abū-Dulaf" (Marquart) ;

4. even Abū-Dulaf in the introduction to No. 2 refers to his previous *risāla* ;

5. the two *risālas* were compiled more or less simultaneously for in § 18 of No. 2 we find a reference to a spring in Mukrān which the author promises to describe in due course. The proper place for this wonder should have been towards the end of No. 1.

## § 8.—The Author and the Scribe

The Mashhad MS. is written throughout in the same hand. The text of the second *risāla* follows immediately on that of the first *risāla*, and is followed without a break by that of Ibn Faḍlān's *risāla* (²). Tentatively the MS. can be dated back to the time before the Mongol

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(¹) See above p. 3. See below on the Persian scribe of the Mashhad MS.

(²) I possess the photographs of some pages before and after the second *risāla*. Besides, the facsimile of I. Faḍlān's text (fol. 196b-212b) is available in A.P. Kovalevsky's *Puteshestviye Ibn-Fadlana*, Leningrad 1939.

Could then the *risālas* be addressed to Isma'il b. 'Abbād whom Tha'alibi names as the patron of Abū-Dulaf? This great vazir was born in 326/938 and died in 385/995 (1). His title *ṣāḥib* was given him because he was a "companion" of the Būyid Fakhr al-daula (366-87/976-97), but he also served under the latter's son Majd al-daula (whom Maḥmūd of Ghazna deposed in 420/1029). Consequently the association of Abū-Dulaf with the Ṣahib brings us to the last quarter of the 10th century (2).

The Ṣāḥib was a famous scholar and bibliophile (3) and it would be strange if Abū-Dulaf had dared to submit to him such wild stuff as his first *risāla*, or even the poor account of Rayy and its immediate neighbourhood, as contained in the second *risāla* (§ 47-9). The annotation on the death of Naṣr, which was apparently drawn up at a time not too distant from the event (331/943), would be too early for the Ṣāḥib. Nor was there much purpose in registering doubtful reports on events in Bukhara, while the Būyids of Rayy had direct means of information on what was happening at the rival court.

Consequently, one should perhaps assume that the two *risālas* were compiled for patrons living in one of the Persian provinces, or even in Mesopotamia, where there was no danger of being contradicted on the geography of Central Asia and where even Persia appeared

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(1) I. Khallikān, translated by de Slane, I, 212.

(2) In Tha'ālibi's quotation from the *qaṣīda banī Sāsān* (III, 175 and 187, 3rd line from the bottom) the "rogues" boldly proclaim:

ومنا قيّم الدين الـ مطيع الشائع الذكر

يكدى من معز الدو لة * خبزاً على قدر

"And one of us is the famous guardian of the faith Muṭī'"
"Who begs Mu'izz al-daula for bread in just the amount required (?)".
Muṭī'-lillāhi occupied the throne in 334-63/946-74 and the Būyid Mu'izz al-daula acted as his "protector" in 334-56/946-67. However, the original draft of the *qaṣīda* may have been written before the time of Abū-Dulaf's actual association with the Ṣāḥib.

(3) I. Khallikān, transl. by Slane, I, 212, writes that, according to the grammarian Abul-Ḥusayn al-Fārisi, the Ṣāḥib declined the invitation of Nūḥ b. Manṣūr to come over to Bukhara, under the pretext that 400 camels would be needed for carrying his books alone.

anonymous patrons ([1]) of Abū-Dulaf (*see* above p. 3) by the non-committal formula: "*I read in an ancient book*".

Before I became acquainted with the text of the second *risāla* I had thought that one of the two patrons to whom Abū-Dulaf addressed his *risālas* ([2]) might have been the great geographer Abū ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Jayhānī who was known for his systematic efforts to collect geographical information ([3]). In 309/912-3 Jayhānī was still alive, but we have no indication as to the time of his demise([4]). As *risālas* I and II were addressed to the same patrons it is difficult to admit that Abū-Dulaf would have had the effrontery to submit his fantastic account of the Turks to a man who was himself an expert on that subject ([5]). Had the collection of four treatises been prepared under the auspices of Jayhānī, he would have liked to insert something about his personal acquaintance with Ibn Faḍlān, similar to what we find in the book with regard to Abū-Dulaf.

Finally, after Abū-Dulaf's account of how the ambassadors of Naṣr behaved in Sandābil, *risāla* I contains a report on the death of Naṣr intercalated by the addressees([6]). It is evident then that the latter were not in Bukhara ([7]) where there would have been no need for a report on the demise of Naṣr emanating from an informant whom they themselves treated with distrust.

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([1]) In view of the additional formula of address: *yā sayyidī wa maulayya*, A. P. Kovalevsky, *l.c.*, 29, has surmised that "one of them was an amīr and the other a vazīr" (?).

([2]) See Minorsky, *Marvazī*, 1942, pp. 6-8.

([3]) See Muqaddasī, 3-4, *cf.* Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, pp. XVII-XVIII.

([4]) His son ʿAlī (Abū ʿAlī) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Jayhānī perished under some ruins (*taḥt al-hadn*) in 330/941-2, see Ibn al-Athīr VIII, 294.

([5]) Nearly all the tribal names appearing in Abu-Dulaf's *risāla* I are known (with accurate details) in the sources derived from Jayhānī, *see* above p. 14.

([6]) This report is apparently the work of someone other than Abū-Dulaf, because, according to the addressees, this informant indulged in invocations to God for pardon. This particular feature is not attested in either of Abū-Dulaf's *risāla*. With *wa qāla* we return to Abū-Dulaf's narration.

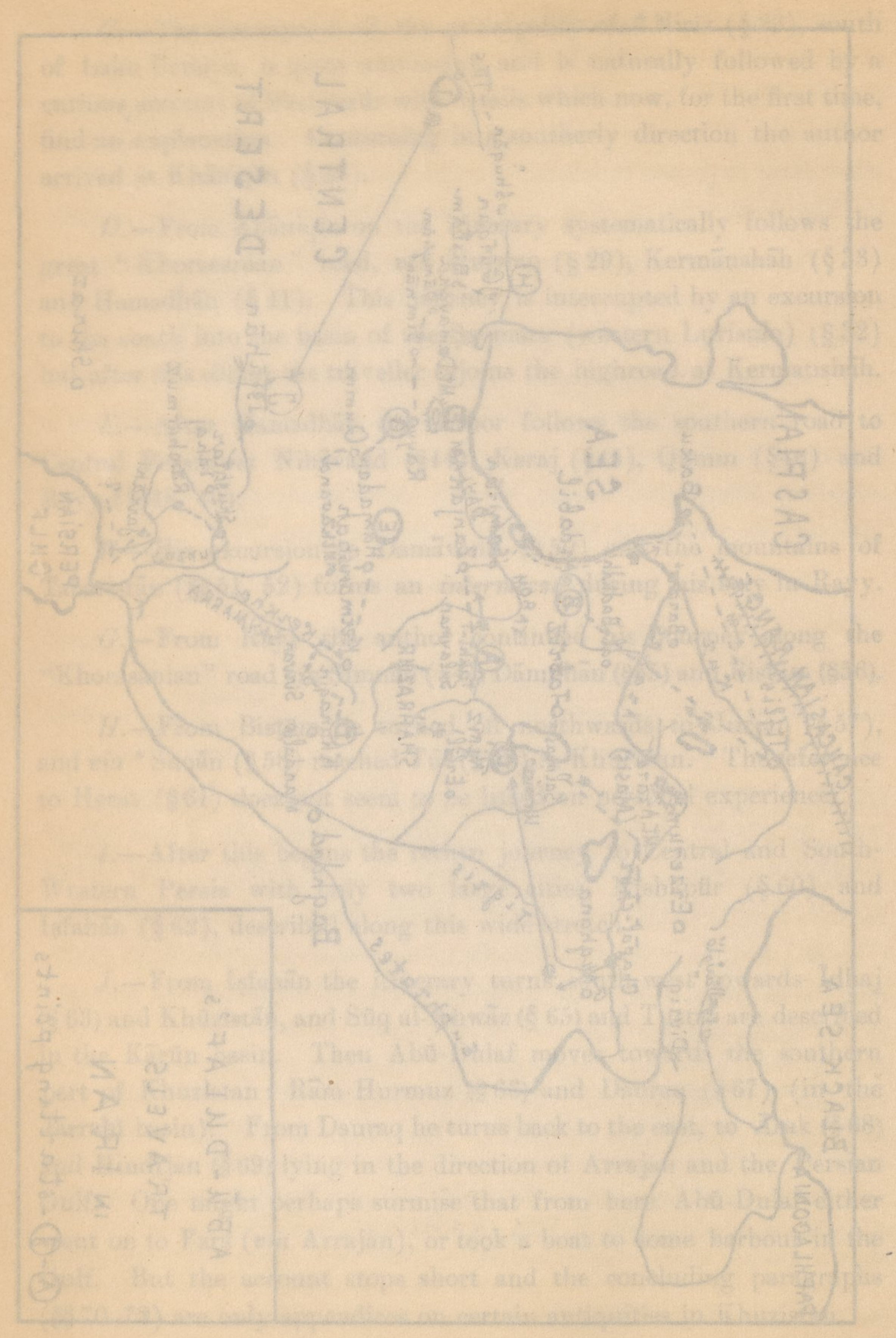
([7]) Contrary to A. P. Kovalevsky's suggestion, *l.c.*, 30.

This clear itinerary makes all the difference in comparison with the vagaries of the first *risāla*. It is obvious too that in describing Iran Abū-Dulaf, despite his southern and Sindbad-like imagination, could not allow himself such eccentricities as in Central Asia about which the average reader knew nothing.

As an *adīb*, Abū-Dulaf must certainly have known the main geographical works of his time. We have considered the problem of his readings in Bukhara, as possibly reflected in his reports on the Central-Asian Turks. In the second *risāla* I have not succeeded in discovering any noticeable reminiscences of literary sources, except perhaps in two cases of parallelism with Masʿūdī's works (§§ 7, 32). The item on Ḥulwān in Yāqūt is very probably due to Abū-Dulaf (our § 30) and not to some "Abū-Zayd" (of Balkh ?), as stated in *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, 317. The worst written part of the *risāla* is the account of Khūzistān (§§ 65, 70, etc.) where at least two records have been negligently and repetitively pieced together. The one speaks of "a *bridge* with a mosque on it" and the other of "a weir with a mosque opposite it", both with reference to the same monuments of Tustar. The description of the rivers is also misleading and § 64 has definitely got into the wrong place (*see* the Commentary). These mistakes do not inspire confidence in the personal experience of the author. The arrangement of the material concerning Shahrazūr (§§ 24-7) is faulty but the information is genuine. The unfulfilled promise to speak of the spring in Mukrān (§ 18) also reflects some hurry in the preparation of the record. For the rest Abū-Dulaf's information, however much embellished by the imagination, seems to be based on his own observations (§ 34, 51, etc. ), or talks with "old-timers" of diverse creeds and nationalities (*cf.* §§ 7, 71, etc.). The fact that Yāqūt made such an extensive use of Abū-Dulaf shows that there was no more reliable material on the places figuring in Abū-Dulaf's report.

### 7.—To Whom did Abū-Dulaf address his Risālas ?

This difficult question was not solved even by such an expert bibliophile as Yāqūt, who introduces the opening words of the two




BLACK SEA
PAPHLAGONIA
CAUCASIAN RANGE
CASPIAN SEA
Tiflis
Kuz
Baku
Divriq
Erzerum
Mt. Ararat (Masis)
Barda'a
Araxes
al-Badhdh
Chapal-chur
Arghana
Ardabil
Salmas
Tabriz
Urmiya
Tigris
Euphrates
TAROM
Samiran
DAYLAM
Zanjan
Takht-i Sulayman
Erbil
SHAHRAZUR
Mt. Damavand
Gurgan
Shuqan
Tus
Bistam
Damghan
Simnan
Rayy
Hamadan
Qumm
Kermanshah
Nihavand
Baghdad
Khanaqin
Mandali
Sirvan
Kerkha
SAYMARRA
CENTRAL DESERT
Isfahan
Shushtar
Idhaj
Ramhurmuz
Karun
Jarrahi
PERSIAN GULF
Shiraz
ABŪ-DULAF's TRAVELS IN IRAN
Ⓐ-Ⓙ-starting points

*C.*—The description of the principality of * Nirīz (§ 23), south of Lake Urmiya, is quite convincing and is naturally followed by a curious account of Shahrazūr with details which now, for the first time, find an explanation. Continuing in a southerly direction the author arrived at Khāniqīn (§ 28).

*D.*—From Khāniqīn on the itinerary systematically follows the great "Khorasanian" road, ***via*** Ḥulwan (§ 29), Kermānshāh (§ 33) and Hamadhān (§ 41). This journey is interrupted by an excursion to the south into the basin of the Ṣaymara (western Luristān) (§ 32) but after this *détour* the traveller rejoins the highroad at Kermanshāh.

*E.*—After Hamadhān the author follows the southern road to Central Persia *via* Nihāvand (§44), Karaj (§45), Qumm (§46) and Rayy (§§48, 49).

*F.*—His excursion to Damāvand (§ 50) and the mountains of Ṭabaristān (§§ 51, 52) forms an *intermezzo* during his stay in Rayy.

*G.*—From Rayy the author continued his journey along the "Khorasanian" road *via* Simnān (54), Dāmghān (§55) and Bisṭām (§56).

*H.*—From Bisṭām he turned off northwards to Jurjān (§ 57), and *via* * Suqān (§ 58) reached Tūs (§ 59) in Khurasan. The reference to Herat (§ 61) does not seem to be based on personal experience.

*I.*—After this begins the return journey to Central and South-Western Persia with only two large cities, Nīshāpūr (§ 60) and Iṣfahān (§ 62), described along this wide stretch.

*J.*—From Iṣfahān the itinerary turns south-west towards Īdhaj (§ 63) and Khūzistān, and Sūq al-Ahwāz (§ 65) and Tustar are described in the Kārūn basin. Then Abū-Dulaf moves towards the southern part of Khuzistan : Rām-Hurmuz (§ 66) and Dauraq (§ 67) (in the Jarraḥī basin). From Dauraq he turns back to the east, to Āsak (§ 68) and Hindījān (§ 69) lying in the direction of Arrajān and the Persian Gulf. One might perhaps surmise that from here Abū-Dulaf either went on to Fars (*via* Arrajān), or took a boat to some harbour in the Gulf. But the account stops short and the concluding paragraphs (§§ 70-72) are only appendices on certain antiquities in Khuzistan.

to check his inexactitudes and to explain his allusions, but, in the light of comparisons and illustrations, such popular stories as that about the Nativity [1] or that about the late Sassanians (§ 71) can find some explanation. In any case, even mistaken statements and beliefs, when they have one thousand years behind them, merit attention from the historical point of view, unless they are pure figments or frauds.

The original text of the Mashhad MS. provides us with a welcome surprise. By contrast with the first *risāla*, Abū-Dulaf's travels in Iran follow an easily recognisable itinerary which will be rendered still clearer by the numerated paragraphs which we have introduced in the text. Such sections reveal the fact that, after describing a stretch of his journey, the author often gives some additional notices on points already left behind, though immediately after he falls back into step by taking up the thread of his narration.

The itinerary can be divided into the following sections :

*A.*—We are left in the dark as to how the author found himself in southern Azarbayjan, but from Shīz (§§4-7), by a little-known road, he travelled east into the basin of the Safīd-rūd. From Samīrān (§12) he is supposed to have continued down to the Caspian, and then along its western coast northwards to Bākū (§13). Turning to the west he visited Tiflis (§ 14) and thence crossing the highlands of Armenian Siunik' and the homeland of the famous rebel Bābak (south of the Araxes), to Ardabīl (§15).

*B.*—Skipping Tabrīz Abū-Dulaf describes Lake Urmiya (§ 17) and the districts to the west of it, after which we find him in Armenia in the basin of Lake Van.

Our interpretation of Aflūghūniya (§ 20) as * *Kūghūniya* improves the probability of Abū-Dulaf's stay in Armenia (§ 21) and even the very mutilated names of § 22 resolve themselves into a hint that Abū-Dulaf returned to the south of Lake Urmiya *via* the regions lying to the south of Lake Van.

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(1) Distrusted by Yāqūt III, 356 (*see* below § 7 and commentary).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nihāvand | IV, 827-8 | II, 316 (briefly) |
| *Nisābūr | IV, 857 | |
| Qal'a (Kala) | IV, 162 | |
| *Qanṭara-Khurrazād | IV, 189 | II, 201 |
| Qanṭarat al-Nu'mān | IV, 191 | |
| Qaṣr al-luṣūṣ | IV, 121 | |
| *Qaṣrān | IV, 105 | |
| Qaṣr Shīrīn | IV, 121 | |
| *Qumm | IV, 175 | |
| Rayy | II, 892 | |
| Samīrān | III, 148 | |
| Sūrīn | III, 186 | I, 181 |
| Shabdīz | III, 250 | |
| Shahrazūr | III, 340 | II, 266 |
| Shīz | III, 354 | |
| Sīn (Turkish tribes) | III, 445 | II, 390-5 |
| *Ṭirhān | III, 525 | |
| Tiflīs | I, 857 | |
| Ṭūs | III, 560 | |
| *Urmiya (Buḥayrat) | I, 513 | II, 333 |
| Valāshjird | IV, 938 | |
| Zarāvand | II, 922 | I, 191, II, 332 |

Now that we know the second *risāla*, we can discover in the first *risāla* [1] some hints at the author's interest in mines and minerals but in the second *risāla* these questions seem to provide the clue to Abū-Dulaf's peregrinations in Iran. Features of archæological interest, which in the first *risāla* are chiefly noticeable in the report on India, [2] are very numerous in the second *risāla*. Here and there Abū-Dulaf indulges in his favourite exaggerations but, on the whole, his narrative is more practical and realistic. His digressions are often entertaining and instructive but he seems to have quoted his material from memory without reference to written notes. A detailed commentary is necessary

[1] For example bezoar-mines (Chigil); gold mines and diamonds (Kīmak); white and green stones with magic properties (Ghuz); stone shining at night (Khirkhīz), etc. *Cf.* Yāqūt, III, 446, 449, etc.

[2] Where they assume a fantastic character; *see* above p. 16 under Multan.

information was quoted without acknowledgment. In his painstaking work on Yāqūt's source, F. J. Heer [1] ascertained 33 direct quotations from Abū-Dulaf.

In the following imposing list of these quotations we have marked with * those quotations which it proved impossible for F. J. Heer to identify. Many long passages are incorporated in Yāqūt *verbatim*. The quototions found in Z. Qazwīnī are possibly based on Yāqūt; this author reduces the information still further and alters the phrasing of the original.

| | *Yāqūt* | *Qazwīnī* |
|---|---|---|
| *Aflūghūniya | I, 331 | |
| *Ahwāz (Sūq) | I, 411 | |
| Alrān | II, 739 | |
| Arīvajān | I, 230 | |
| Araxes | II, 780 | |
| Āsak | I, 61 | |
| Bā Ayyūb | I, 436 | |
| Badhdh | I, 529 | |
| Bājunays | I, 455 | |
| *Bākū | I, 477 | |
| *Bīr | I, 684 | |
| Bisṭām | I, 623 | II, 205 |
| Dāmghān | I, 539 | |
| Dastajird | II, 573 | |
| Dauraq | II, 618 | |
| *Daylamastān | II, 711 | |
| Dayr Kardashīr | II, 690 | |
| Dunbāvand | II, 573 | II, 231 (Jibāl) |
| *Hamadhān | IV, 982 (?) | |
| Hindījān | IV, 993 | II, 186 |
| *Ḥulwān | II, 317 | II, 239 |
| *Īdhaj | I, 416 | II, 201 |
| Isfahān | I, 293 | II, 196 |
| Jurjān | II, 49 | |
| Khāniqīn | II, 393 | |
| Mādharān | IV, 380 | |
| Māsabadhān | IV, 393 | II, 172 (briefly) |
| Maṭbakh Kisrā | IV, 563 | II, 290 (briefly) |

[1] "Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Yāqūt's geographischem Wörterbuch", Strassburg Dissertation, 1898, p. 22.

of fact the name of the prince attested on his coins was Abū-Ja'far *Aḥmad* b. Muḥammad (not the other way round), *see* J. Walker, *The coinage of the second Ṣaffārid dynasty in Sīstān*, New York 1936, pp. 25–38. Aḥmad's father Muḥammad b. *Khalaf* b. Layth belonged to a remote side-line of the Saffārids (connected with Bust) but was befriended by the co-regents Ṭāhir and Ya'qūb II, grandsons of 'Amr b. Layth. Ya'qūb II gave his sister Bānū to Muḥammad and their child Abū-Ja'far Aḥmad was born on 9 Jumādā 292/18 April 905; he was installed as amir of Sīstān on 18 Moh. 331/8 May 923 and was murdered on 2 Rab. I 352/31 March 963, see *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 278, 310, 326. Despite the inaccuracies in the pedigrees of the son and the mother, this is the only paragraph in the whole *risāla* which stands firm and the dates of Abū-Ja'far are in keeping with the dates of Abū-Dulaf's activities known to us from the second *risāla* (*see* above p. 5).

As a guess one might advance that, instead of travelling to Sīstān from India, Abū-Dulaf may have journeyed from Bukhara to Zamīn-Dāvar ([1]). As the relations between the Samanids and the amir Abū-Ja'far were excellent, such a journey would have been quite natural. The remaining part of the journey (Sandābil–Kala–India) is still subject to strongest doubts ([2]).

## 6.—Abū-Dulaf's Second *Rīsāla*

The second *risāla*, which in the Mashhad MS. follows immediately on the first and is equally authenticated by the introductory note of the original addressee, is very different from its companion.

Yāqūt, and in a lesser degree Z. Qazwīnī, utilised it in the form of single entries under numerous headings. After this vivisection, it was difficult to integrate the contents of the *risāla*, especially as some

([1]) This would coincide with von Mžik's conclusion, *l.c.*, p. 242: "Alles im allem können wir Abū-Dulaf bestenfalls zubilligen, dass er bis Sandābil gekommen und von da auf demselben oder einem Parallelweg nach Eran zurückgekehrt ist".

([2]) One might perhaps bear in mind Abū-Dulaf's claim advanced in the second *risāla* (§ 18) that he visited Tīz and Mukrān (in Baluchistan).

first impression that Abū-Dulaf refers again to the House of Gold of Multān, we soon discover that he means something different. There are no Zoroastian sanctuaries in northern India and the reference to snow points to some more northerly and hilly country. But then, if the place was not in India, how could it pay *kharāj* to the "Umayyad"? As from Baghāyin the author journeyed to Shahr-Dāvar (*i.e.* Zamīn-Dāvar on the Hilmand), we can only think of Western Afghanistan. Even the tradition of the invincible conquerors starting from "the plain of Zoroaster" may be of Ṣaffārid inspiration, for the Ṣaffārids had much to do with Zamīn-Dāvar. Thus fumbling we come to the conclusion that perhaps Abū-Dulaf has confused the famous temple of the god Zūn which stood in Zamīn-Dāvar with the House of Gold in Multān, see *Zūn* in *E.I.* The region of this temple had certainly nothing to do with the rulers of Multān or Manṣūra.

The stages after Shahr-Dāvar are Ta'nīn (*Baghnīn) (1) and Ghaznīn, and the most striking feature of this itinerary is that it runs in a ***north-to-south*** direction. Then B. ghāyin (which in view of its *alif* should be different from Baghnīn) seems to have lain farther to the north. Tentatively one might look for it at خوابين *Khwābīn* which according to Bayhaqi "was a province of Ghūr adjoining Bust and Zamīn-Dāvar", see *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 346 (2). Thus the passage from "Manṣūra to B.ghāyin" becomes somewhat suspect. According to Abū-Dulaf two roads start from Ghaznīn, one to the right (=north) to Bāmiyān, Khuttalān and Khorasan, and one to the south (read: *west*) to Bust and Sijistān. Changing his direction Abū-Dulaf must have followed the latter.

The identity of the prince of Sistan Abū-Ja'far Muḥamad b. Aḥmad b. Layth, which embarrassed Grigoryev and even Marquart, has been vindicated by the biography of Rūdakī and especially by the ancient *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, published in Tehran in 1314/1935. In point

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(1) This is the form given in Yāqūt; in the Mashhad MS. the name is indistinct and I can see only the characters *S.F.T.* (?).

(2) In *script* بغاين is reminiscent of بغلان Baghlān in northern Afghanistan, between Khulm and Bāmiyān.

some time and then travelled "towards the coast" to arrive in Kala (Keda in the Malay peninsula!). After this immense black-out in Abū-Dulaf's account comes a desultory description of various places in India before the author mentions the capital of Kābul called Ṭābān [1]. Thence he flies back to Mandūrafattan, near Ceylon, and suddenly reappears in northern India, in Multān and Manṣūra. We need not dwell on these breath-taking and fantastic excursions and can only point again to Abū-Dulaf's personal communications to the author of *al-Fihrist* (*see* above p. 8) which do not suggest any personal acquaintance with the famous temple of Multān.

Other Muslim travellers speak separately of the rulers of Multān and Manṣūra, but according to Abū-Dulaf the Omayyad (*sic*) Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad (still unidentified, see Rohr-Sauer, 69) ruled over the whole of Sind. What is particularly unpardonable for an Arab traveller is the mistake which he commits about the origin of this ruler. Mas'ūdī, I, 387, who visited the amir of Manṣūra Abū-Mundhir 'Omar b. 'Abd al-Azīz particularly warns against the confusion of his dynasty issued from Habbār b. Aswad (*cf.* I.Hauqal, 229, 231) and known as "banū 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qurashī" with the descendants of the caliph 'Omar b. 'Abd al-Azīz b. Marwān the Omayyad.

From Manṣūra Abū-Dulaf moves on to بغاين B.ghāyn (T.ghāyin, N.ghāyin?). "This is a vast town (or country) and the inhabitants pay the *kharāj* to the Umayyad (*see* above) and to the master of the House of Gold. This is a House of Gold which lies in the plain four farsakhs from? (left in blank). It never snows on it even when there is snow in the vicinity. The House is worshipped by the Indians and Zoroastrians. This plain (or desert) is the plain of Zardusht, the lord of the Magians. The inhabitants declare that when a man starts from this plain to seek power, he cannot be defeated, etc." Despite the

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[1] This طابان may refer to الطاران which I. Khurdādhbih, 55, mentions in Mukrān, 10 farsakhs to the south of Fahraj. *Cf.* a reference to Tīz and Mukrān in our § 18. Abū-Dulaf may have imagined Mukrān as a dependency of Kābul. On the great confusion in Arab itineraries in Baluchistan *see* Marquart, Ērānšahr, 185.

(*d*) Jikil (Chigil, § 16, north of Lake Issik-kul).

(*e*) Baghrāj (perhaps * Bughrāch, the king of the Yaghmā of Kāshghar, cf. *H.'Ā.*, p. 280).

(*f*) Tubbat (Tibet, § 11, possibly as a reminiscence of the Tibetan domination in Chinese Turkestan).

(*g*) Kīmak (§ 18, on the Irtish).

(*h*) Ghuzz (§ 19, between the Irtish and the Volga).

(*i*) Toghuzghuz (§ 12, the Uyghurs, probably in their later habitat near Turfan).

(*j*) Khirkhīz (§ 14, somewhere in the direction of Lake Baykal).

(*k*) Kharlukh (§ 15, Qarluq, along the T'ien-shan and near Issik-kul).

(*l*) Kh.tl.kh (* Khutlukh, Qutluq, unknown).

(*m*) Kh.t.yān (according to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 82, perhaps the Qitay, K'itan of Manchuria).

(*n*) place Bahī (a place of this name exists in Chinese Turkestan, west of Kuchā).

(*o*) Q.lyb (no sure parallels, *cf.* Marquart, *l.c.*, 84).

After this comes the name of the frontier place *Maqām-al-Bāb* lying in the sands, then those of *Wādil-maqām* and Sandābil. The first of these places must correspond to Sha-chou ("the Sand-city"). The second seems to be connected with the region of Su-chou, and especially with the fortified place Kia yü kuan (lying 17 miles to the N.W. of Su-chou), the starting point of the travellers to China, or to the west, *see* Bretschneider, *Mediæval researches*, II, 177. Sandābil (a Soghdian name ?) has been identified by Marquart, *l.c.*, 88, with Kan-chou, the capital of an Uyghur principality. Only these three last names form a likely series of stages.

## 5.—Further Remarks on the First *Risāla*

From the Mashhad MS. we learn that from Sandābil the ambassadors of Naṣr b. Aḥmad returned to Bukhara after the death of this prince (d. 331/943), whereas Abū-Dulaf stayed on in Sandābil for

hopes that his work will have come "somewhat nearer to the solution of the problem". In point of fact the result of his work does not differ much from that of his predecessors, in that he finds no explanation for the strange character of the *risāla*, while he himself (p. 71) admits that in Bukhara Abū-Dulaf could find rich material on the geography of Turkestan, China and India.

In this connection it is useful to remember that, as Abū-Dulaf was in Bukhara shortly before 331/943, he could not have failed to hear of the geographical work of Jayhānī who acted as regent during the minority of the reigning king Naṣr b. Aḥmad (914-43) (¹). As I have tried to show in my books on the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and Marvazi's *Taba'i' al-ḥayawān*, Jayhānī's work contained a very detailed account of the Central-Asian Turks. The work is now lost but the relevant quotations in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Marvazi and Gardīzī are based on it.

Travellers from Bukhara to Western China most likely followed the road from Farghāna to Kāshghar and further to Sha-chou which is always represented as the door leading to China. In Abū-Dulaf's text there are vague indications that he went that way but the names of the "tribes" among which he travelled are mentioned pell-mell and with fantastic distances and details. We shall quote them in the order in which Abū-Dulaf himself enumerates them to the accompaniment of the formula "then we came to...". In brackets I have added references to my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 1937.

(*a*) The tribe Kharkāh (Khargāh being a Persian designation of the region of Kāshghar, see *H.A.* under Yaghmā, § 13).

(*b*) *N.jā* (possible * *Yaghmā*, § 13, between Farghāna and Kashghar) paying tribute to Ṭakhṭākh (probably * *Tamghāch*, as the Chinese emperor used to be called by the Muslims).

(*c*) Bajanāk (Pecheneg, § 20, near the Urals).

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(¹) In his review of Dr. Rohr-Sauer's thesis Prof. A. von Mžik (*OLZ*, 1942, No. 5, pp. 240-2) criticises the author's mild attitude towards Abū-Dulaf's description of China and India: " Diese Route als ein 'nachträglich verfasstes Gesamtbild der Reise', also mit Versagen des Gedächtnisses oder der Reproductionsfähigkeit erklären zu wollen, ist völlig unbefriedigend. Textverderbniss kommt kaum in Frage".

(the traveller's) destination, the Chinese capital Sandābil". Marquart fixed the date of the "Chinese" embassy which Abū-Dulaf joined as approximately 331/941 and identified Sandābil with the capital of the Western Uyghurs, Kan-chou [1].

4. 1915. In the *Festschrift für E. Sachau*, p. 22, Marquart announced his intention of reconsidering the problem of Abū-Dulaf. To the "Machwerk" represented by the report on the Turks he wished to oppose the "genuine" (*echt*) Abū-Dulaf, as found in al-Nadīm's quotations on the House of Gold and China. Marquart did not carry out his project [2] but we know that the addressees of the first *risāla* fully acknowledged the fact that they received it from Abū-Dulaf [3]. Nor can we place any confidence in the veracity of Abū-Dulaf's oral communications to Nadīm: as we have seen the latter contradicted one of them in the light of the truthful statement of the Najrānian monk; other utterances of Abū-Dulaf suggest that he spoke only from hearsay (*see* above p. 8-9) and possibly many years after his return from the East.

5. 1939. A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abū Dulaf Bericht uber seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien, neu übersetzt unt untersucht*, Bonn 1939, 72 pp. This carefully written thesis is based on the text of the Mashhad MS. discovered by A. Z. Validi. In his conclusions (pp. 40-72) the author concentrates his attention on finding parallels to the *names* quoted in the first *risāla*. This tendency obscures the major problem of the inconsistencies in Abū-Dulaf's itinerary which, especially in comparison with the second *risāla*, forces us to agree with the harsh judgment passed on them by Grigoryev and Marquart. In his Preface Dr. Rohr-Sauer says that, even after his research, it is impossible to arrive at a final conclusion on Abū-Dulaf's report, but

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(1) *See*, however, Barthold's cautions remarks in *E.I.*

(2) Except for his reference in "Arktische Länder", in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, IV/4, 1924, 393, to "der dem Dichter und Alchimisten Abū-Dulaf ... im XI Jahrhundert *untergeschobene* Bericht uber seine Reise nach China".

(3) *See* also below p. 20 on the similar interest for mineralogy shown by Abū-Dulaf in both his *risālas*. Marquart's surmise on the spurious character of the first *risāla* passed into Brockelmann's *GAL*.

*Mu'jam al-buldān.* The point is of some interest in showing that Yāqūt may have been the only man [1] who had a direct knowledge of the "ancient book", *i.e.* the collection of texts similar to that contained in the Mashhad manuscript.

2. 1845. C. von Schlözer, *Abu Dolef Misaris ben Mohalhel de itinere Asiatico commentarius*, a Latin translation of the composite text of Z. Qazwīnī and Yāqūt presented as a thesis to the Berlin University.

3. 1868. V. V. Grigoryev, *Ob arabskom puteshestvennike Abu Dolefe* ("On the Arab traveller Abū-Dolef and his wanderings in Central Asia"), in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodn. Prosveshcheniya*, 1872, vol. 143, pp. 1-45. The author of this detailed study comes to a negative conclusion as to the reality of Abū-Dulaf's travels. He admits, however (p. 19), that a journey to Sandābil was "not impossible" and tentatively identifies this town ("perhaps a cross between Sandābūr and Qandābil") with Su-chou. Grigoryev, too, analysed the text of *al-Fihrist* and thought that in al-Nadīm's statement "hardly anything beyond the first line on Khamdan (Khumdān) and Khankuva (Khanfu) belongs to Abu-Dulaf". To say what he says about them there was no need to travel farther than Sīrāf "but even in these two lines he did not refrain from such lies as the one about Khankuva extending for 40 farsakhs".

4. 1903. Marquart. *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 74-95, 500-2. Marquart says: "anybody who tried to trace Abū-Dulaf's itinerary on a map would immediately and with ever increasing shakings of the head look at the astonishing criss-cross rambles which took him now to Tibet, now to the Chinese frontier, now to the Chu basin, now to the region of Irtish and now to the basin of Tarim" [2]. Marquart, p. 500, remarks that his aim was "to obtain a firm basis for the criticism of this questionable report and above all to fix

(1) Apart perhaps from Aḥmad Ṭūsī (who dedicated his work to Tughril b. Arslan, 571-90/1175-94). The MSS. of his work are inaccessible to me.

(2) *See* also Marquart's criticism of Abū-Dulaf's references to Kāshghar in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.*, 1912, XXVII, p. 422.

Abū-Dulaf personally ([1]) is indicative of the appreciation he enjoyed among his contemporaries. On the other hand, Thaʿālibi is silent about Abū-Dulaf's *risālas*.

On the whole, apart from his poetical talents, Abū-Dulaf was judged rather harshly. Even the patrons to whom he dedicated his two *risālas* several times doubted his veracity in their remarks, which have been incorporated in the text of the clean copy (*see* the text, §§ 5,33, 49). The author of the *Fihrist* rejected his statement on the size of the capital of China. At the end of the quotation on Shīz, Yāqūt, III, 356, remarks: "All this is by Abū-Dulaf Misʿar b. al-Muhalhil and I am free from responsibility for the truth of it. Abū-Dulaf used to tell his own wild stories and lies (*al-sharīd wal-kidhb*) and I have only transcribed them as I found them, and God alone is omniscient".

Much of this criticism is fair but, on the whole, as we shall see, the second *risāla* is considerably more sober than the first and even the legends found in it are based on popular traditions.

### 4.—Abu-Dulaf's First *Risāla* and its Interpreters

A bibliography of Abū-Dulaf is found in Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, I, 228 (Supplement, I, 151, 407) and in A. Rohr-Sauer's recent thesis, and we shall refer only to the main studies based on the original text.

1. 1842. F. Wüstenfeld, *Des Abu Dulaf ... Bericht über die türkischen Horden*, in *Zeit. fur vergleichende Erdkunde*, II, 205-7. This is only a translation of the truncated text of the first *risāla* found in one of the MSS. of Z. Qazwīnī. The manuscripts of Qazwīnī vary in their contents, *see* Ruska, *Kazwinistudien*, in *Der Islam, 1913, I, 14-66*, III, 236-62, and present a problem which needs further elucidation. It is quite likely that references to Abū-Dulaf were introduced into Qazwini's text as quotations from Yāqūt's

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([1]) Abul-Faḍl al-Hamadhānī (d. in 398/1007) recited 3 verses; ʿAun b. Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī, 4 verses; Abū-ʿAli Muḥammad ʿOmar al-Balkhī, 4 verses; Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī, 3 verses.

" He used to be in attendance on the Ṣāḥib (Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād) and prolong his stays with him while he increased the crowd of his attendants and followers and, being attached to his service, earned his living in his household. He used to provide himself with letters from him on his travels and they would stir up a flow of cheques (*safātij*) in settlement of his needs.

"With prodigious capacity, the Ṣāḥib used to memorize the piquant expressions of the rogues (the beggars' slang) (1) and he admired Abū-Dulaf's extensive knowledge of them. They used to bandy them with each other and bring up matters which none of those present could catch.

" Abū-Dulaf dedicated to the Ṣāḥib a *qasīda* written in imitation of Aḥnaf al-'Ukbari's (2) poem rhyming in ḏ and treating of the fine points (of this slang?) ; in it he referred to the rogues, explained their various locutions and diverse customs and managed to introduce the caliph Muṭī'-lillāhi into their lot, adding to the *qasīḏa* a full and exhaustive commentary. The Ṣāḥib was thrilled and delighted with it, learned the whole of it by heart and rewarded the author for it"(3).

Of this *qasīda* Tha'ālibī quotes 193 verses, apart from other quotations from Abū-Dulaf's verses which were recited to him by various persons. Among the latter was the famous Badī' al-zamān (358-98/968-1007) who, in some respects, likened Abū-Dulaf to Abul-Fatḥ al-Iskandari (?). But for Tha'ālibī's testimony to Abū-Dulaf's literary gifts we should hardly have any concrete facts about them. The variety of Tha'ālibī's informants who must have known

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(1) V. A. Ivanov has suggested that the name of these ***banū-Sāsān*** " beggars, rogues " may be connected with the Persian word *sās* (" a bug "), which, in the plural (*sāsān*), is homonymous with the name of the ancestor of the Sasanians. I learn from M. William Marçais that even the Arabic root *k-d-y* (whence *al-mukaddī*) may be connected with Persian (*gadā*).

(2) Abul-Ḥasan 'Uqayl b. Muḥammad al-'Ukbari lived in Baghdad but belonged to the literary circle of the Ṣāḥib, cf. Yatīma II, 285-8.

(3) Some of the words of the *qasīda* have been identified by A. L. Troitskaya with those used in the argot of the *sāsiyān*, as described in a Persian MS. dated 745/1344, see *Soviet. Vostokovedeniye*, V, 1948, 260-2.

(*d*) Al-Shīla (Korea) is a part of China.

(*e*) "Some people told me that *And.l.s* lies in the North-East (of China)". [This *And.l.s* or *Mānsās* is a country in Manchuria and has nothing to do with Spain, *see* Minorsky, *Marvazi*, pp. 87-8].

The paragraph ends with miscellaneous quotations from the collections of current reports on China which are the common source of Muslim geographers and wonder-tellers ([1]).

We see that the only contribution in this section attributable to Abū-Dulaf was rejected by al-Nadīm himself. This analysis does not increase our confidence in the "genuine" Abū-Dulaf as compared with his first *risāla*.

*C.*—The third important source on Abū-Dulaf is a long account of him in Tha'ālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Damascus 1304/1887, III, 174-94. Tha'ālibī (350-429/961-1038) belonged to the generation immediately following that of Abū-Dulaf and apparently knew some people who had met our traveller. The notice in the *Yatīma* reveals to us the poetical side of Abū-Dulaf's activities ([2]) and throws much light on his character and surroundings.

It calls him Mis'ar b. al-Muhalhil *al-Khazrajī* al-Yanbū'ī and describes him ([3]) as "a poet full of amusement and humour keeping his knife sharp in requesting gifts". He lived till nearly ninety, entertaining, travelling, undertaking hard journeys, striking the side of the *mihrābs* (of the mosques where he slept) with his food-bag in the service of learning and letters"...

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([1]) On these collections of reports on various countries (*akhbār al-Ṣīn*, *akhbār al-Hind*, *akhbār Khorāsān*, etc.) *see* Minorsky, *Marvazi*, Index under *Akhbār*, and Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine*, 1948, p. XX.

([2]) Yaqūt several times (II, 607, III, 356, IV, 162) refers to Abū-Dulaf as a poet (*shā'ir*) but does not quote any of his verses. At III, 340, he calls him *adīb*.

([3]) *Cf.* A. Mez, "Die Renaissance des Islam", 1922, p. 238, whose abridged translation from the *Yatīma* is inadequate. The scholars who kindly answered my queries on the difficult expressions and allusions of the following passage greatly differed in their interpretations and my translation has no claim to finality.

As regards the temple of Multān Abū-Dulaf himself describes it in his first *risāla* (MS. Mashhad, f. 192a), where it is said that it is 300 cubits high, while the height of the idol itself is 100 cubits and it is suspended in the air, 100 cubits from the cupola and as many above the ground. To this the patron, to whom the *risāla* was addressed, added a note: "This, as we think, is one of the things which Abū-Dulaf advanced untruthfully because this idol has been described by al-Madā'ini in his *Futūḥ al-Sind wal-Hind* who says that its length (height, apparently of the statue?) is 20 cubits and not otherwise". It is characteristic that in private conversation Abū-Dulaf gave a vague account of its location "in Mukrān and Qandahār", which should probably mean "*Multān and Gandhāra* (the latter being one of the three places called *Qandahār* in Arabic). He hinted at the accessibility of the temple only to the select devotees and for the rest relied upon rumours.

One does not feel disposed to accept Marquart's theory (*see* below) that the oral report given to an-Nadīm repressents the genuine (*echt*) Abū-Dulaf as distinct from the first *risāla* which "goes by his name".

β) The paragraph on China, in the *Fihrist*, consists of quotations from various sources.

(*a*) Abū-Dulaf Yanbū'ī says "that the capital of the great king is called Khumdān (Singan-fu), whereas the town of merchants and goods is called Khanfū (Canton) and its length is 40 farsakhs".

(*b*) (Note by al-Nadīm): "This is not so: the Najrānian monk says that it is much smaller than that".

(*c*) Someone (else?) says that there are 300 towns in China [1] and over every fifty there is a king appointed by the Baghpūr. Among the cities are *W. rsnw* and *Bānṣwā*. From the town Armabīl (in Baluchistan?) to Bānṣwā the distance is 2 months and Bānṣwā lies close to Tibet, the Turks, the Toghuzghuz, etc.

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[1] Sharaf al-dīn Marvazi, chap. VIII, 33: 360 towns.

(*f*) Some "trustworthy people" told Abū-Dulaf that there was a third House of Gold in Ṣanf (Champa, in Southern Annam), smaller than the second House but ancient and with idols that answered questions.

(*g*) Abū-Dulaf says: "when I was in it, in the country of Hind, the king in possession of Ṣanf (*al-malik al-mumallak*) was called Lājīn".

After these seven points al-Nadīm adds "and the Najrānian monk said that at present the king of Ṣanf (*i.e.* southern Annam) was called "king of Lūqīn" (*yu'raf bi-malik Lūqīn*); he went to Ṣanf, destroyed it and conquered all its people".

Despite some outward similarity, *Lūqīn* and *Lājīn* are apparently different. Lūqīn (* Lūfīn) has been identified with Lung-pien in Tongking but M. G. Coedès kindly tells me that Lung-pien ceased to be the capital of the protectorate of Annam in A.D. 621 and that towards the end of that century its name disappeared from Chinese texts. I can only submit that the name might have survived among foreign seamen as the designation not of the harbour but of Tongking. Between 780 and 982 Champa (in the present day southern Annam) kept the provinces annexed from northern Annam but in 982 Lê Hoan of Annam (Dai Co Viêt) invaded Champa and reached its capital. This would be the event referred to by the Najrānian monk and the *Fihrist* (written in 987). But Abū-Dulaf is supposed to have travelled about A.D. 950 and his *Lājīn* (*Lāgīn* ?) is not susceptible of an emendation similar to *Lūqīn/Lūfīn*. M. Coedès draws my attention to the fact that between the years 944-52 the western neighbour of Champa, Rājendravarman of Khmer (*Qimār*), invaded Champa and that *Lājīn* might represent the first part of ***his*** name (*Rājen-*). This admission might save Abū-Dulaf's face, [1] although Rājendravarman's expedition was apparently but a "punitive expedition" [2].

[1] That text suggests that the traveller heard of Lājīn in India, and *not* in Champa. On the other hand, Abū-Dulaf considers Kala (in the Malay peninsula) as "the first town of Hind" on the way from China, *see* Rohr-Sauer, p. 30.

[2] *See* Mlle Auboyer in R. Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale*, 1941, pp. 370, 398.

(*l*) reference to As'ad b. 'Ali Ya'fur, whom Yāqūt mentions in 340/951 (§ 59).

*B.*—In his *Fihrist* (completed in 377/987) al-Nadīm speaks of Abū-Dulaf as his personal acquaintance. He says nothing about the least credible part of his peregrinations among the Central Asian Turks but quotes him in two passages: on India, I, 346-7, and on China, I, 350. The two passages are of involved construction and we shall analyse their contents.

α) The text of Nadīm, at least in the printed edition, seems disturbed. The author describes the famous temples of India,—those of Mankīr, Multān and Bāmiyān. Then he refers to the Golden Temple called *farj bayt al-dhahab, i.e.* again the temple of Multān (*cf.* I. Ḥauqal, 228), adding that there was some disagreement about the particulars, as some people said that it was of *stone* and called "golden" only because the Arabs carried off 100 loads of gold from it.

(*a*) He proceeds: "I was told by Abū-Dulaf al-Yanbū'ī who was a globe-trotter (*jawwāla*), that the Golden Temple is not that (which has just been described). The real Temple lies in the steppes of Hind and belongs to the region of Mukrān (*Multān?) and Qandahār (*Gandāra ?). Only Indian devotees and hermits can reach it. The temple is built of gold (*annahu mabnī bil-dhahab* and it is 7 cubits, both in length and in width, its height being 12 cubits. It is covered with various kinds of gems and in it there are idols (*bidada*) made of red rubies and other precious and wonderful stones and covered with gorgeous pearls, each like a bird's egg and even larger".

(*b*) From "trustworthy people" Abū-Dulaf heard that rain did not fall on the temple.

(*c*) Some Indians "told" him of miraculous cures in the temple.

(*d*) When Abū-Dulaf discussed the problem, opinions differed and some Brahmins said that (the idol ?) was suspended in the air.

(*e*) Abū-Dulaf said there was (another) House of Gold in Qimār (Khmer in Indo-China).

331/914-43). At that time an embassy had arrived from "the king of China Qālīn b. al-Shakhīr" to establish some matrimonial links between the two dynasties. The Sāmānid ruler refused to give his daughter to an infidel but agreed to marry one of his sons to a Chinese princess. The embassy went home to Sandābil (Kan-chou?) together with Naṣr's envoys who were joined by Abū-Dulaf ([1]). The important new detail in the Mashhad MS. (f. 179 b) ([2]) is that Naṣr had died (in 331/943) before the arrival of the princess who was then married to his son Nūḥ b. Naṣr (331-43/943-54) and became the mother of prince ʿAbd al-Malik (who ruled in 343-50/954-61). Abū-Dulaf stayed on in Sandābil and then proceeded on his own journeys ;

(*b*) reference to the death of Bajkam (in 329/941) (§ 29) ;

(*c*) reference to Marzubān's conquest of Azarbayjan (§ 31), about 330/941 ;

(*d*) reference to the expansion of the Hadhbānī Kurds in Southern Azarbayjan (towards the end of the 3rd/9th century) and their later spreading to the south ;

(*e*) attack of the people of Shahrazūr on Bīr, in 341/952 ;

(*f*) Abu-Dulaf's stay in Kermanshah in 340/951 (§ 33) ;

(*g*) reference to the rise of Hasanōya, before 348/959 (§ 36) ;

(*h*) reference to Mardāvīj, killed in 323/935 (§48) ;

(*i*) reference to two capitalists in Rayy *circa* 333/944 (§ 49) ;

(*j*) reference to the ʿAlid al-Thāʾir, *circa* 331/943 (§ 52) ;

(*k*) land-slide in Khorasān (§ 58) (no date).

([1]) Abū-Dulaf was not a member of the embassy for he speaks of "himself and the envoys" (Mashhad MS., f.179a). We now see that Yaqūt's phrase, III, 452 : " we now return to the report of *Naṣr's ambassador* " is his own and not that of the addressees of the first *risāla* who simply say : *wa qāla*.

([2]) It is not clear whether this addition is by Abū-Dulaf himself or by his patrons.

Of the several editions of the first *risāla* we shall speak later. I owe a photograph of the second *risāla* to the great kindness of my friend His Excellency A. A. Hekmat, the former Iranian Minister of Public Instruction. Together with him I visited Mashhad in 1934 during the celebrations of Firdausi's millenary and for a few moments held the famous manuscript in my hands. Fifteen years, full of events, were to pass before I could quietly examine in Cambridge the passages which interested me.

The importance of the Mashhad copy of the second *risāla* consists in the facts:

1. that it contains a number of connecting passages omitted in Yāqūt and especially those which have a chronological and autobiographical importance;

2. that the passages are disposed in the original sequence;

3. that it enables us to ascertain the tacit quotations in Yāqūt and Z. Qazwīnī;

4. that it helps us to check the method of quotation of the two compilers just mentioned, the reading of certain names and especially the location of some doubtful places (*see* § 20).

On the whole, at least one-fifth of the Mashhad copy represents new material not available in quotations which themselves can be now better understood.

### 3.—Sources

Our sources of information on Abū-Dulaf are threefold:

A.—In the first place should come the internal evidence of his *risālas*: dates, references to the contemporary rulers, direction of the journeys, etc. This material is not always absolutely dependable, but in the second *risāla* there is a definite consistency in the basic plan of the report, manifestly absent in the first *risāla*. Of the dates and references one can quote the following:

(*a*) A short time before 331/943 Abū-Dulaf appeared for the first time in Bukhara at the court of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-

4. A fuller text of Ibn-Faḍlān's famous description of his journey to the Volga Bulghars in 310/922 ([1]),

The three authors, Ibn al-Faqīh, I. Faḍlān and Abū-Dulaf, are entirely unconnected and they were joined together only in the collectanea prepared under the direction of the two addressees of Abū-Dulaf. No other copy of the undated collection is known to-day and I was tempted to think that Yāqūt, who freely quotes both from Abū-Dulaf's "epistles" and from I. Faḍlān, used, during his stay in Marv, the very manuscript which A. Z. Toğan discovered in Mashhad seven hundred years later. Against this theory, however, must be set the fact that in the passage on Mt. Damāvand the Mashhad MS. is unintelligible through the omission of a line (*see* § 51) which has survived in Yāqūt II, 606 ([2]). Unless Yāqūt has conjecturally supplemented the text, one is forced to admit that he had a better, or more ancient, copy at his disposal ([3]). However, Yāqūt's numerous quotations contain so few and so insignificant variants that his and the Mashhad copies must have been made at least from the same original.

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([1]) This text in facsimile and Russian translation is found in A. P. Kovalevsky, "Puteshestviye Ibn-Fadlana na Volgu", edited by the Academy of the USSR, 1939, 193 pp. and 33 plates. In his preliminary article "The newly discovered text of Ibn-Fadlān" in *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1938, 1 (2), pp. 56-71, Kovalevsky had translated all the additional passages of the Mashhad copy. The printed text with a German translation and a detailed commentary is found in A.Z. Validi Togan: "Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht", in *Abhandlungen d. D.M.G.*, vol. XXIV/3, 1939, pp. 337-45.

([2]) The omitted line falls between the lowest line of f. 192a and the upper line of 192b. I specially enquired in Mashhad whether the line has not survived somewhere in the margin but the answer was in the negative.

([3]) Yaqūt himself, III, 445, introduces Abū-Dulaf's *risāla* on China and the Turks with the words: "I (*i.e.* Yāqūt) read in an ancient book what I have reproduced (*qara'tu fī kitāb 'atīq ma ṣawwartuhu*)", after which follow the introductory words of Abū-Dulaf's patrons: "Abū-Dulaf wrote to us". [This stratification of authorities has been misunderstood in Ferrand's translation, *Relations de voyages*, 1913, p. 208]. It is likely, however, that Yāqūt applied the term "ancient" to the collectanea prepared by Abū-Dulaf's patrons and not to the *copy* of it which he had at his disposal.

Of Abū-Dulaf's geographical works one *risāla*, describing his alleged peregrinations among the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, in China and in India, has monopolised the attention of Orientalists; his second *risāla* devoted to journeys in Western and Northern Iran has never yet been made the subject of a special study ([1]). The main reason for this was that, whereas the first *risāla* was incorporated in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān* (623/1225), III, 445-58, practically in its entirety ([2]), the data of the second *risāla* were quoted piecemeal and sometimes even without acknowledgment. It was not until some 30 years ago that a happy chance rendered it accessible to scholars.

## 2.—Discovery of the Second *Risāla*

In 1922 the Turkish (Bashqīr) scholar A. Z. Validi (now Prof. A. Z. Toğan) discovered an important Arabic manuscript in the library attached to the sanctuary of Imām 'Ali al-Riḍā in Mashhad (Khorasan). The volume is a collection of four separate works:

1. A version of Ibn al-Faqīh's *Kitāb al-buldān*, fuller than the abridgment forming vol. V of de Goeje's *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, but representing only one-half of the text ([3]).

2. and 3. Two "epistles" of Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar b. al-Muhalhil of which we shall speak in detail.

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([1]) As a mixture of marvels with solid facts, Abū-Dulaf's second *risāla* bears some likeness to Abū-Ḥāmid al-Andalusi's *Tuḥfat al-albāb* (published by G. Ferrand, *Jour. As.*, 1925), though the latter is more sober in his own statements and depends more on written sources.

([2]) And partly in that of Z Qazwīnī (second part of the 7th/13th century), see *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, see below p. 19.

([3]) For a systematic description of this "new" Ibn al-Faqīh see the article by its discoverer: A.Z. Validov, *Meshedskaya rukopis Ibn-al-Fakiha* (in Russian), in *Izv. Akad. Nauk*, 1924, No. 1, pp. 237-48. The important introduction to the collectanea, compiled by Abū-Dulaf's patrons, has been translated into German by P. Kahle in ZDMG, 1934, and into Russian by Kovalevsky, "Puteshestviye", 26-30. A passage from the "new" Ibn al-Faqīh (ff. 169a-171b) was published by V. Minorsky, "Tamīm ibn-Baḥr's journey to the Uyghurs", in BSOAS, 1948, XII/2, pp. 275-305.

# I
# INTRODUCTION



## 1.—The Author

The author, one of whose works is studied in the present publication, is Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn al-Muhalhil al-Khazrajī al-Yanbūʿī [1]. He says himself that some disappointments in his country led him to travel abroad but his frequent references to matters Arabian reflect some nostalgic feelings which survived in his soul. His imagination and his predilection for marvels are also features of his southern temperament. We do not know the dates of Abū-Dulaf's birth, or death, but we hear of him for the first time shortly before 331/943, when he was staying in Bukhara, while his further activities extended through the second part of the 4th/10th century.

Abū-Dulaf's name is sufficiently known from a number of quotations in various sources. However, two, and perhaps three, sides of his activities have not been properly integrated : to some he is known chiefly as a poet, to others he is only traveller, and we now see that he himself had a claim to proficiency in natural sciences.

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(1) His *nisba* is always spelt with a long *ū*, although the accepted name of the port of Hijāz is Yanbuʿ.

## CONTENTS



## PLATES

EGYPTIAN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
General Culture Administration

# ABŪ-DULAF MISʿAR IBN MUHALHIL'S TRAVELS IN IRAN

(circa A.D. 950)



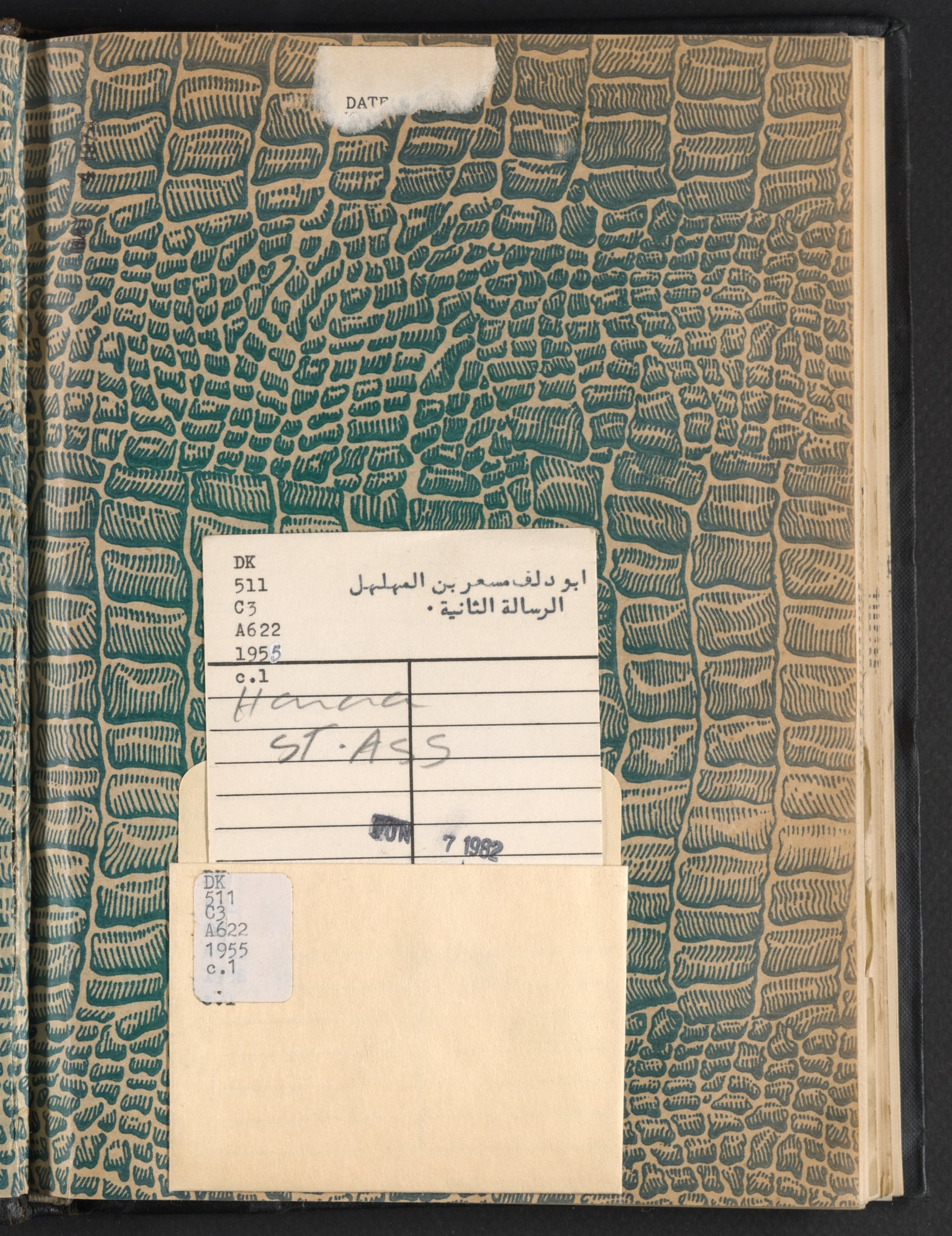
Arabic Text
with an English Translation and Commentary

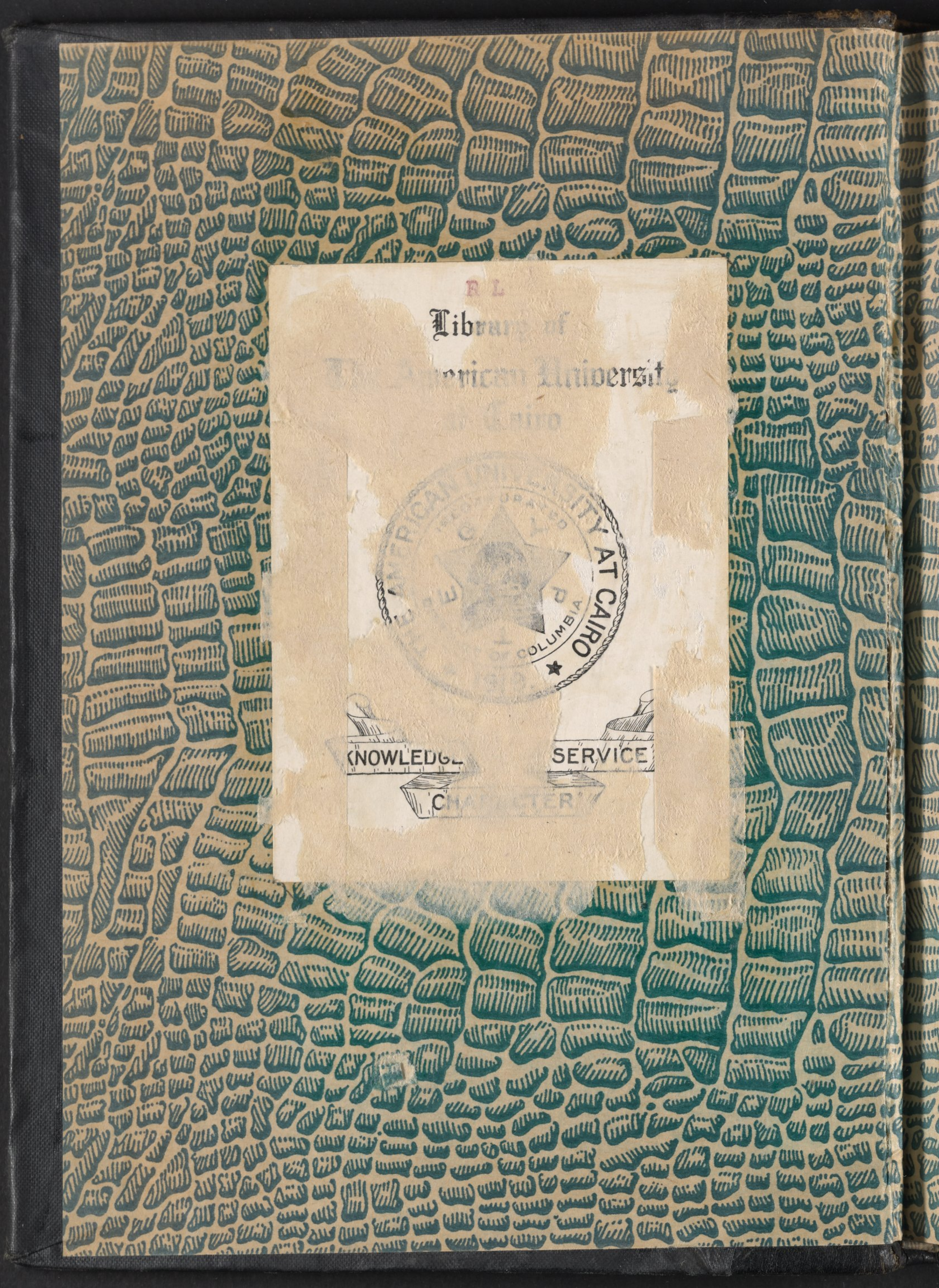
BY

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